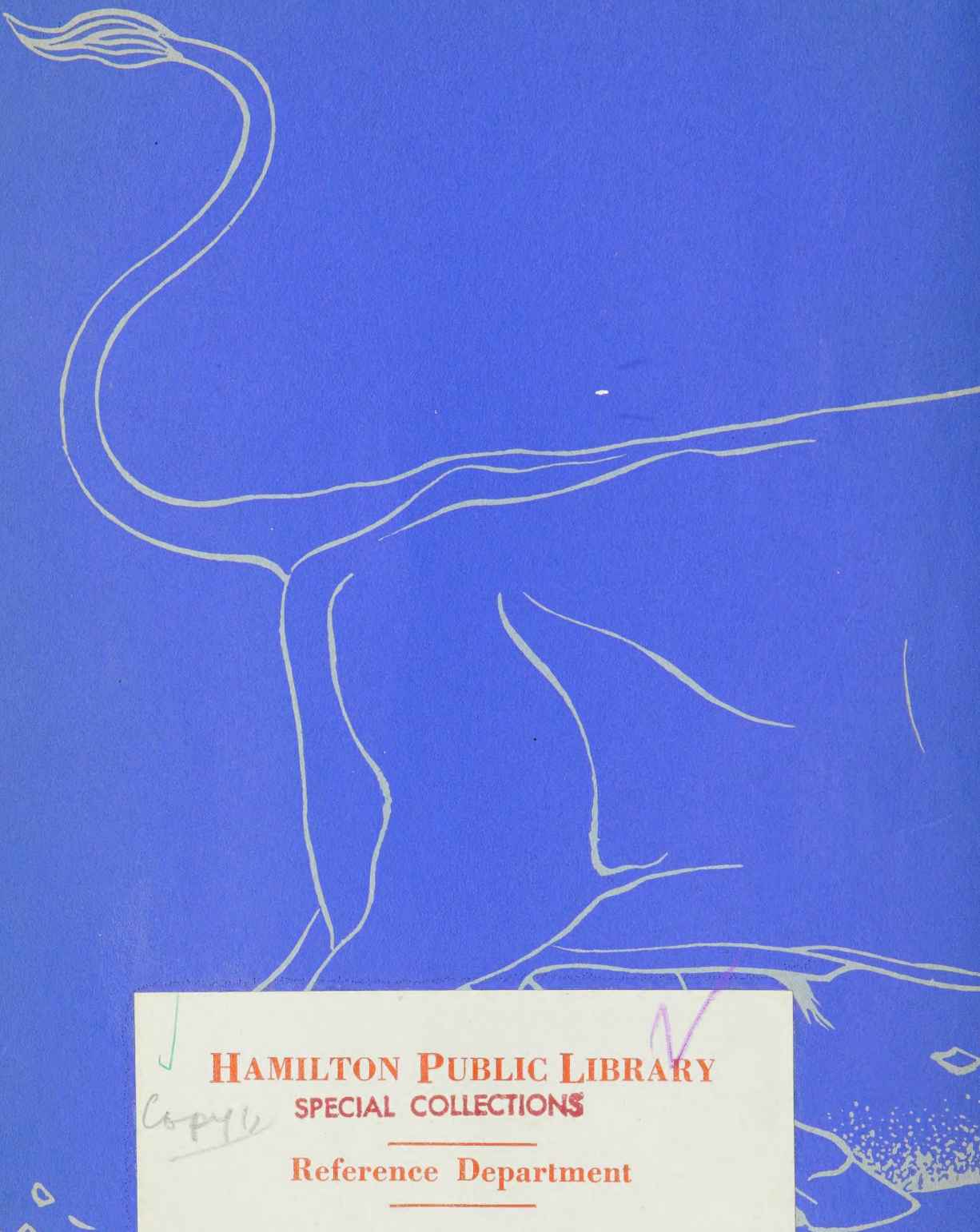


From the **BOYNE** to **BRAMPTON**

by Wm.
Perkins Bull K.C.

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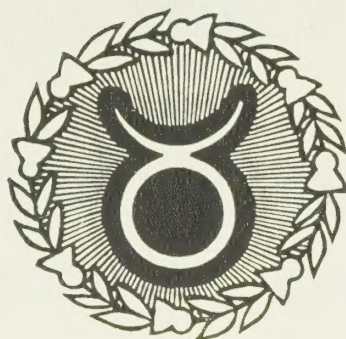
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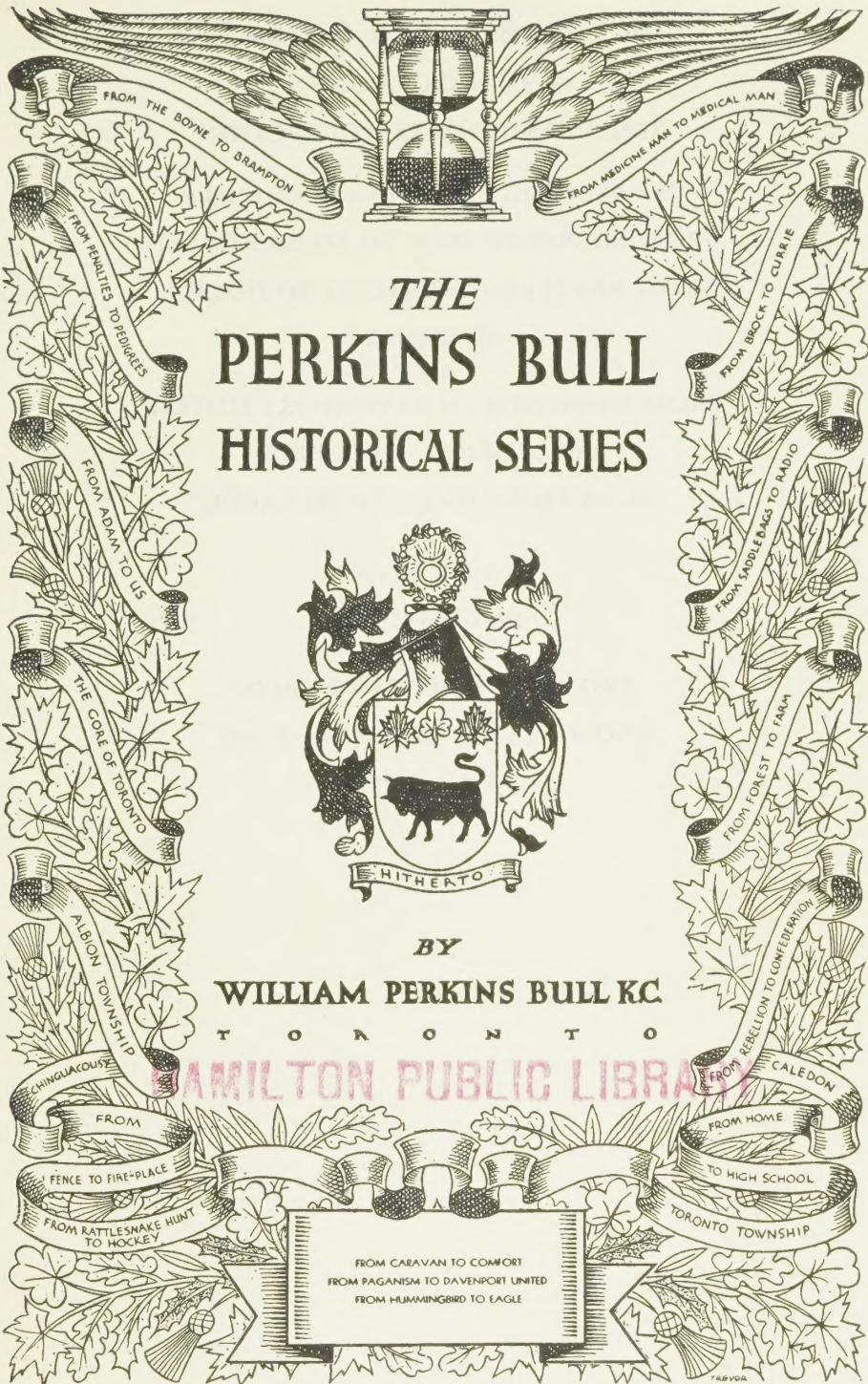
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WM. PERKINS BULL, K.C.

FROM THE BOYNE TO BRAMPTON

or
*John the Orangeman
at Home and Abroad*



By *Wm. Perkins Bull*

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TO THE TWENTY-FIVE ORANGEMEN
WHO, IN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, HOUSE OF
COMMONS, OR SENATE, HAVE REPRESENTED
WHAT IS NOW THE COUNTY
OF PEEL

PEEL'S ORANGE LEGISLATORS

UPPER CANADA AND CANADA: LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Second Riding of York

(*Chinguacousy, Caledon, Albion, Toronto township,
The Gore of Toronto*)

EDWARD WILLIAM THOMSON	1836
------------------------	------

Peel

(*Chinguacousy, Caledon, Albion, Toronto township,
The Gore of Toronto; later, Brampton, Streetsville*)

LT.-COL. GEO. DUGGAN	1841
"	[1842]
"	1844
MAJOR GEORGE WRIGHT	1851
JAMES COX AIKINS, LL.D.	1854
"	1857
"	1860
LT.-COL. THE HON. JOHN HILLYARD	
CAMERON, Q.C., D.C.L.	1861
"	1863

CANADA: LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

JAMES COX AIKINS	1862
------------------	------

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO: LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Peel

(*Chinguacousy, Toronto township,
The Gore of Toronto, Brampton,
Streetsville*)

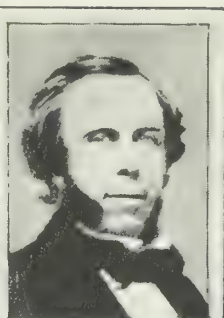
Cardwell

(*Albion, Caledon, Mono, Adjala,
Bolton*)

JOHN COYNE	1867	THOMAS SWINARTON
"	1871	GEORGE McMANUS
	1883	WILLIAM HENRY HAMMELL
	1886	"
	1891	"
	1894	EDWARD ALFRED LITTLE
	1898	"
	1902	"
	1905	"
	1906	ALEXANDER FERGUSON



Lieut.-Col. Wm Elliott



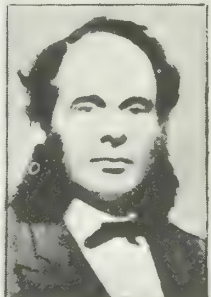
Hon. George Duggan



Samuel Charters



William Stubbs



Wm. Armstrong McCulla



Sen. Richard Blain



Maj. George Wright



Sen. W.B. Willoughby



Thomas Swinarton



James R. Fallis



Brig. Gen. I.L. Kennedy



Gordon Graydon

A few of Peel's Orange Legislators

Courtesy Public Archives of Canada, John Ross Robertson Collection, Mrs. Mabel McCulla Scott, The Conservator, Miss Amy Wright, J. A. Willoughby, Mrs. Margaret Broddy

Peel

(Chinguacousy, Caledon, Albion, Toronto township,
The Gore of Toronto, Brampton, Streetsville, Bolton)

SAMUEL CHARTERS	1908
"	1911
JAMES R. FALLIS	[1913]
"	1914
"	[1915]
BRIG.-GEN. THE HON. THOS. L. KENNEDY, V.D.	1919
"	1923
"	1926
"	1929
"	[1930]

DOMINION OF CANADA: HOUSE OF COMMONS

Peel

(Chinguacousy, Toronto town-
ship, The Gore of Toronto, Bramp-
ton, Streetsville)

Cardwell

(Albion, Caledon, Mono, Adjala,
Bolton)

JOHN HILLYARD	LT.-COL. THOS ROBERTS
CAMERON	FERGUSON
	1867
	1872
	1874
	[1876]
LT.-COL. WILLIAM ELLIOTT	1878
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG	
McCULLA	1887
	[1895]
	1896
RICHARD BLAIN	1900
	ROBERT JOHNSTON

Peel

(Chinguacousy, Caledon, Albion, Toronto township,
The Gore of Toronto, Brampton, Streetsville, Bolton)

RICHARD BLAIN	1904
"	1908
"	1911
"	1916
SAMUEL CHARTERS	1917
"	1921
"	1925
"	1926
"	1930
GORDON GRAYDON	1935

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

IT WAS apparent from the inception of the Perkins Bull Historical Series that in no community more intimately than in Peel could the world history of the Orange Order be tied up with local life, social, political, economic, and religious. As a result, *From the Boyne to Brampton*, one of the author's earliest projected volumes, makes its somewhat belated appearance after four years of intensive research. In Belfast, Dublin, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, and London, as well as throughout Canada and especially throughout Ontario, original documents and newspaper files have been examined and officials and representative members of the Orange Order consulted.

These years of study, while they elicited new facts, served also to emphasize the value of the personal and local approach to general Orange history. Prominent Orange officials were enthusiastic regarding this method of attacking the subject. Abstract history might be dull, they said, but linked intimately, as the author proposed, with successive generations of a family and county it would, they declared, have all the charm of a story. Since it was not only the first Orange history to take the world for its parish but was also straightforward and simple in its treatment and readable in its style there would, they said, be no excuse for any Orangeman to be without one and no Orangeman would want to be.

Assistance from brother Orangemen at home and abroad has not been confined to general opinions. National and district authorities have contributed information regarding their own constituencies. Outstandingly helpful were summaries of the history of Orangeism in England, in Ireland, and in Scotland, received from Ernest Phillips of the Grand Lodge of England, J. A. Barlowe, B.A., D.G.M.I., J.P., C.G.S., Grand Lodge of Belfast, and Joseph Cloughley, J.P., Imperial Grand Treasurer and Treasurer, Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Special thanks are due to those who have read the manuscript and offered constructive suggestions. Among these the late Judge (Lieutenant-Colonel) James Henderson Scott, K.C., Grand Master of British America, 1911-13,

contributed a stimulating introduction. Mrs. Annie J. Ferguson-Burke, grand-daughter of Ogle R. Gowan, "Father, Founder and First Grand Master of the Orange Institution in British America", has not only given a valuable foreword but also placed a perfect treasure trove of books, clippings, and documents at the author's disposal. Senator Horatio Clarence Hocken, Grand Master of British America, 1918-21, in addition to going over the manuscript and giving his much appreciated comment, has supplied many useful supplementary details, corrections, and explanations for later sections of the work. Arthur Hillyard Birmingham, as Master of the County Lodge of Toronto, and also a notable student of Orange history, has greatly facilitated the solution of numerous problems and has loaned rare Grand Lodge records. He has also supplied an instructive foreword. Loftus H. Reid, Imperial Grand Secretary, has given access to numerous documents and contributes a surprisingly comprehensive record of the author's own family.

Additions to manuscript have been suggested by: Cecil Armstrong, Worshipful Master, Armstrong Memorial L.O.L. No. 137, Toronto; Fred Dane, J.P., of Toronto, Imperial Grand Secretary and Past Imperial Grand President; Sir Joseph Davison, D.L., J.P., Secretary, Grand Lodge of Ireland and Imperial Grand President; and George Augustus Nicholas, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A., D.G.M., I. P. Worshipful Master "Friends of Ulster" L.O.L. No. 1688.

Important details of information and helpful suggestions came from: Sir William Allen, M.P., County Armagh; Right Honourable Sir Edward Archdale, Bart., D.L., M.P., Imperial Grand Master; W. J. Armstrong, editor of the *Sentinel*; David Catt, F.R.G.S., D.G.M.E., Prov. Grand Master, Grand Lodge of England and Honorary Vice-President, Imperial Grand Council; Right Honourable Viscount Craigavon, M.P., Prime Minister of Northern Ireland; John Easton, J.P., Past Grand Master of British America and Imperial Grand Master; Sir Patrick Hannon, M.P.; Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Thomas Ashmore Kidd, V.D., M.P.P., Speaker of the Ontario legislature, Past Grand Master, Grand Lodge of British America and of Orange Young Britons of British America and second Imperial Vice-President; Sir Archibald Macdonell, K.C.B., C.M.G.,

etc.; Colonel A. D. MacInnes Shaw, D.S.O., D.L., J.P., First Imperial Vice-President; Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, P.C., B.A.; Reverend F. E. Powell, M.A., Rector of St. Barnabas church, Toronto; Major Richard Rigg, B.A., O.B.E., J.P., F.S.A., Grand Master, Grand Lodge of England and Imperial Grand Master; James Somers, O.B.E.; J. Starr Tait, K.C., Grand Master of British America; Colonel the Honourable Augustus Taylor; Reverend N. Clarke Wallace, son of the Grand Master of British America (1887-1901) and Imperial Grand Master; and Robert Smeaton White, M.P.

Long-sought pictures or anecdotes have been made available through the courtesy of: Major G. H. Aikins, K.C., F. J. Audet of the Public Archives of Canada, George Benjamin, Lieutenant-Colonel John Hyde Bennett, Reverend John Bushell, Mrs. Austin Bothwell, O.R. Church, W. J. Fenton, B.A., William Fitzgerald, Grand Secretary of Ontario West, Henry F. Gooderham, K.C., the Honourable George S. Henry, George H. Locke, M.A., LL.D., Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. McCausland, Lieutenant-Colonel Frank E. Odlum, Miss Mary Price, and Rutledge Stubbs, V.S.

Much modern local material and help with the Maritime angle have been contributed by County Master W. W. McPhee, of Toronto, Deputy Grand Secretary of Prince Edward Island before he came to Toronto twenty years ago. At his silver wedding parade in Toronto on 12th July, 1936, Mrs. McPhee was accompanied by Mrs. Mary MacLean, Past Grand Mistress of the Prince Edward Island L.O.B.A., and by Mrs. George McCombe, wife of the Grand Master of Ontario West.

C. W. Jefferys, R.C.A., O.S.A., LL.D., has been ever at hand to advise regarding illustrations. Chapter headings have been taken from William Shannon's *The United Empire Minstrel* and *The Protestant or True Blue Loyal Songs, Toasts, Sentiments, etc.*, 1825. Tailpieces are lodge crests, etc.

Details of actual work in Peel lodges are best gleaned from extant minute-books. Unfortunately, these are in a somewhat fragmentary condition, and few of them date back over any extended period. Entries often give what occurred in bald and stilted language told with curiously spelled words.

Many interesting matters are but briefly mentioned and their outcome remains shrouded in oblivion, like a play from which vital passages have been deleted and the climax lost. One would give much to know how a number of questions were settled, but the records are obstinately silent. Only by patching together scattered clues in grand, provincial grand, county, district, and local minute-books, can the actual course of any one lodge be approximately charted. A month's research may go into one brief paragraph.

The most distressing difficulty has been procrastination. Information sought years ago has been received right up to the time of going to press, and wherever possible has been inserted in proof. Paragraphs and, indeed, pages have had to be reconstructed because of the accidental discovery of an isolated name or date.

Only the fullest co-operation of local lodges has enabled the author to cope with his gargantuan task. Among hundreds who have aided in securing, interpreting, and supplementing these records, especially patient and persistent work has been done by: John Bonham, Magistrate L. J. C. Bull, Samuel Charters, Colonel R. V. Conover, V.D., Gordon Graydon, M.P., William Harris, Nathan Henderson, D. C. Hesp, G. H. Hillyard, Brigadier-General the Honourable T. L. Kennedy, Roy M. Lavery, Lorne Lipsett, Robert G. Logan, Harry, Oliver, and Robert Matson, Anson McCabe, Thomas and Gordon McCandless, Howard T. McCort, Peter McDonald, Miss Suzannah Orth, Dr. A. F. Reynar, George Robb, Rev. George N. Rutledge, John R. Rutledge, Robert Shaw, Misses Minnie and Ellen Shore, Mrs. Maisie Thompson, L. R. Verner, Mrs. Wesley Wright.

All these have helped to fill in and decorate the history, but the actual framework owes most, perhaps, to the veteran, William Rutledge (1850-1935) and his father, George (1817-93). In boyhood, as a scholar at Salem Sunday-school, the author has often been invited to spend Sunday at the Rutledge homestead and was even then fascinated by the father's tales of his parents' and his own adventures and of the struggle to build up the Orange Order and the Protestant church. In later years when the conception of this book first took shape, every stage of it was talked over with William. His wide knowledge of the county and particu-

larly of his own neighbourhood solved many apparent contradictions between printed and documentary accounts. Thus the personal element which it was the author's aim to inject into his story was inevitably drawn from William's remarkable recollection of Rutledge family traditions, supplemented by the author's own research along lines suggested by the veteran.

This book is not an apologetic but an honest effort to portray the truth. "You've smoothed out all my wrinkles," a veteran once said angrily to a superficially clever photographer. "It took me ninety years to get them; they're part of me, and I don't want one omitted." To the author the Order is in that position. Orangemen are not saints, but any attempt to conceal or palliate their frailties would rob their story of its essential humanity. They have had to fight not only outsiders but also the right hand and right eye that offended within, and the struggle has made them great. The author hopes that no Orangeman will be weak-spined enough to wish one wrinkle left out of the portrait.

With so much kindly and congenial companionship along the way the author's arduous task has been a happy one. It is earnestly hoped that the Orangemen of his native land, of the Empire to which he is proud to belong, and of the friendly nations allied to it in Orange bonds, may find a kindred happiness in the book which results.

WM. PERKINS BULL

Lorne Hall,
Toronto, Ont.

A PREFATORY NOTE

WHEN writing a history of the County of Peel, Mr. Wm. Perkins Bull, K.C., has rendered a fine service to the Orange Association by incorporating an account of the origin and operations of that body of ardent loyalists.

It is peculiarly appropriate that his history of Peel should contain recognition of the prominent part played by the Order in the early days of the county. Socially and politically, leading members of the Association created public sentiment and thus largely directed the social life of the county at a time when much of Peel was "the backwoods". The Order provided halls for public meetings and for entertainments of all kinds, from spelling-bees to fowl suppers.

The Orange lodges were the first of the organized fraternities established by the pioneers to give expression to their loyalty at a time when the destiny of Canada was far from being assured, as it is today. It was largely because the future of the then disunited provinces was dark and threatening that the Order attained such remarkable growth in Peel county as a part of York. This period of uncertainty lasted through the Rebellion of 1837, the Fenian Raids in 1866, and the Riel Rebellions of 1870 and 1885, until 1891 when the late Sir John A. Macdonald declared his battle cry for the general election of that year, "A British subject I was born; a British subject I will die". With that "slogan he carried the country with him, and the future of Canada has never been in doubt since that time".

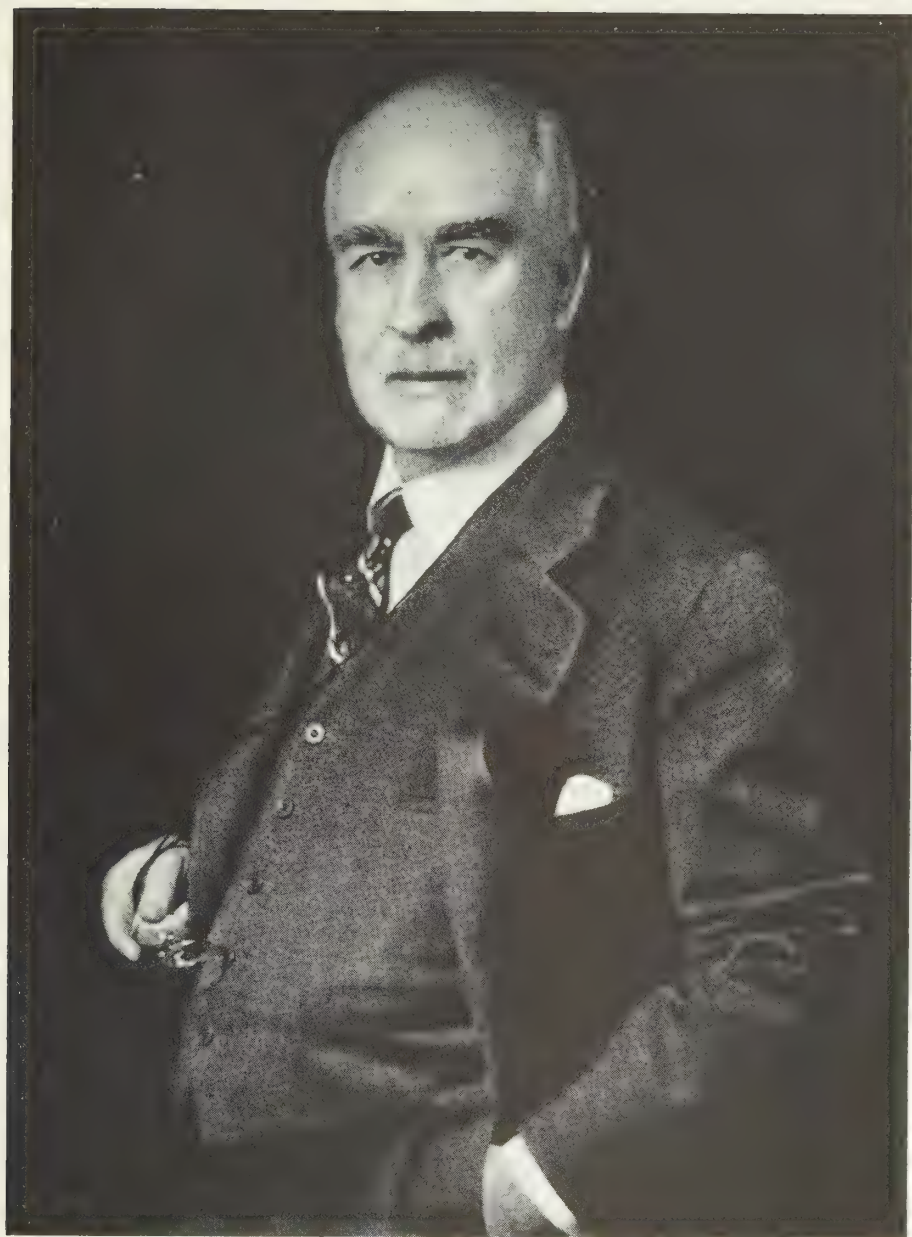
Mr. Perkins Bull's admirable history would not have been complete without his somewhat comprehensive presentation of the work of the Orange Association.

H. C. HOCKEN

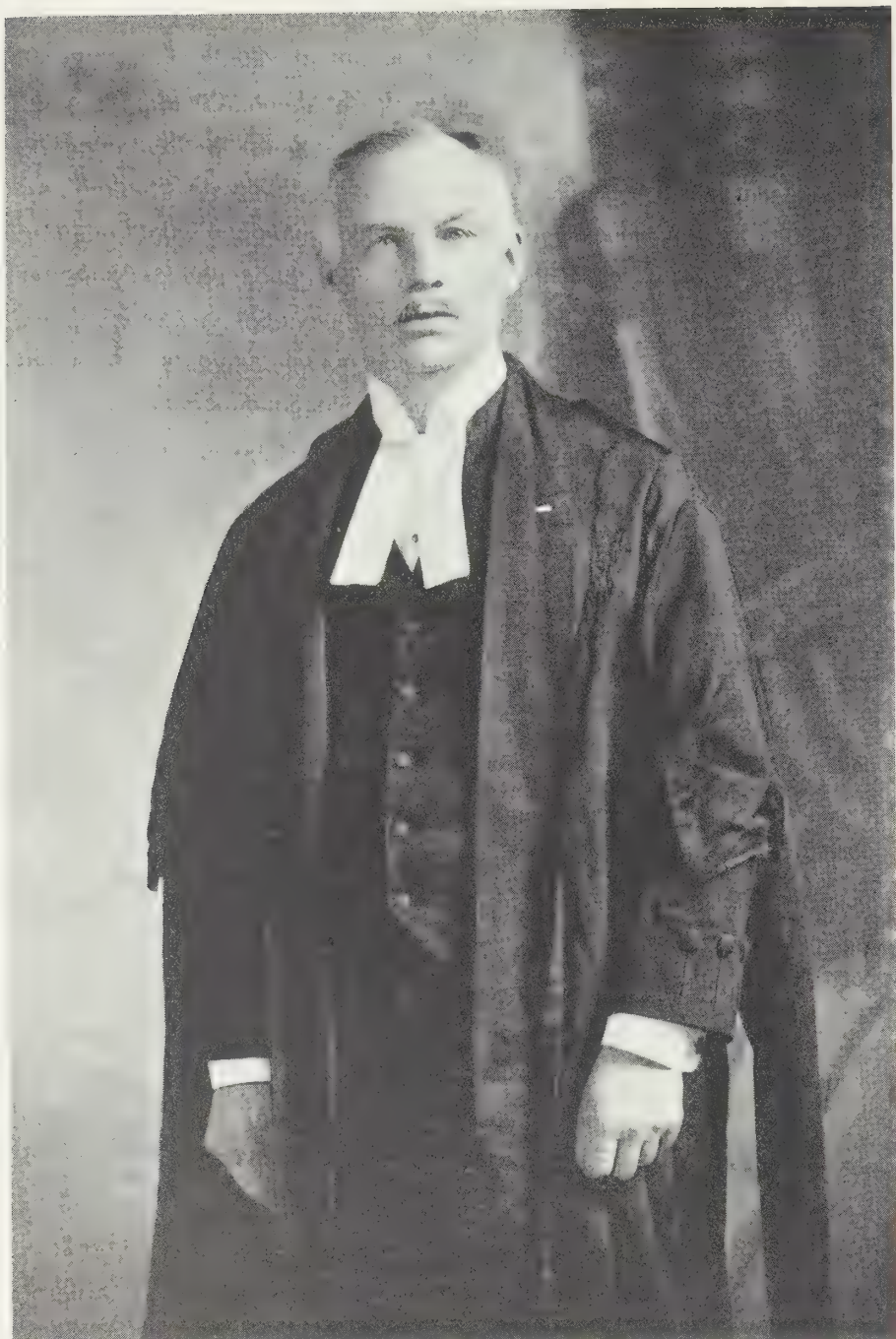
Grand Master of British America, 1918-21;

Editor Orange Sentinel, 1905-30

Toronto, Ontario,
December, 1934.



yours gratefully
W. C. Hodges



J. A. Scott

A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

HISTORY has an attractiveness peculiarly its own and is quite incomparable with literature of any other type. Naturally, it is of absorbing interest to all who claim an affinity with the territory under discussion, either directly or through their forbears. This interest becomes intensified as the scope of the survey is circumscribed. Therefore, a local history at once appeals to an eager constituency whose personal knowledge of the topography and background enables them fully to appreciate the story.

The growth of what is now the Province of Ontario has naturally radiated from its capital and the district which surrounds it. The County of Peel, as a part of this district, has always been identified with the "centre of things" and has thus occupied a position of strategic importance. Its history is therefore typical in little of the larger unit.

In his congenial though arduous task of producing, for edification of the present generation, the results of his researches throughout this county and elsewhere, Mr. William Perkins Bull, K.C., has set an example of industry. The method of his collation and presentation of facts sets a new standard. He has established an aptitude for authorship of a very high order, and is presenting to the public a work not only of considerable pretensions but of exceptional merit. His volumes are fine examples of orderly and accurate narration, especially entertaining because the statement of events is blended with the author's personal contact with localities concerned. These characteristics suggest comparison with H. V. Morton's fascinating descriptive rambles through the British Isles, *In Search of England*, &c., and assure the success of the whole enterprise in popular estimation.

Mr. Perkins Bull's researches have led him to assign a distinct place of importance to the relationship of Peel, from its earliest days, to the activities of the Orange Association. This is a very deserved recognition of the zeal and energy shown by prominent pioneers of this county who actively attached themselves to the Association as intelligent and courageous advocates of its ideals.

Canadian Orangemen's devotion to their principles has

been repeatedly tested in times of political crisis during their century of organized existence as an influential force in public affairs, and they have never failed to demonstrate that their first care was their country's interests. They have, in certain quarters, been persistently maligned, misrepresented and misunderstood. In spite of intense antagonism, the Order has stood by its aims and objects, which rest upon a basis of equity and fair play as impregnable as the Rock of Gibraltar. Its membership has steadily increased in influence and numerical strength. It has, at times, been the despair of the politician, but it has earned wide public respect.

Mr. Perkins Bull has shown sound judgement in giving prominence to this special contribution to public service. He has well earned the congratulations of his people in making available for them this mine of domestic information opened only by the most intense and patient application of an unusually developed brain.

J. H. SCOTT

Grand Master of British America, 1911-13

Perth, Ontario,
December, 1934.

A CONGRATULATORY COMMENT

IN HIS book, *From the Boyne to Brampton*, Mr. Wm. Perkins Bull, K. C., has given Orangemen everywhere a timely and valuable compilation of interesting and important data pertaining to the founding and progress of the Orange Order in Canada and the splendid activities of the County of Peel.

In the United States they have a story concerning a pioneer traveller who was known as Johnny Appleseed because he travelled across the width of the land planting apple seeds wherever he went, and from which many splendid orchards came into existence. It was in like manner that my grandfather, Ogle R. Gowan, in pre-railway days, travelled through the sparsely inhabited parts of Canada, planting the seed of the Orange Lily in the shape of lodges and grand lodges. I have often marvelled concerning the scope of his work, but when I look at his portrait, I can see that he was no nid-noddy fellow but, on the contrary, a straight-lipped man with a stiff neck and a prideful bearing.

No centre in all the area of this wide-flung Empire can lay claim to a loftier respect or firmer fealty to King and Country than Canada. That this fealty and reverence is due in largest measure to the magnificent maintenance of the Orange Order, cannot for a moment be gainsaid.

As grand-daughter of Ogle R. Gowan, the Father, Founder and First Grand Master of the Loyal Orange Institution in British America and the first Worshipful Master of the Primary Lodge No. 1, Brockville, Ontario, I have much interest and appreciation in commending the splendid efforts of Mr. Perkins Bull to provide this most interesting and instructive history of the Order, and the very early and good work of the County of Peel.

In conclusion, I feel it might also be fitting to revive the story of Ogle R. Gowan's last message to Orangemen, after he was stricken with paralysis while on his way to St. George's Church, Toronto, the Rector of which Church was the Rev. Stephen Lett, D.D., Grand Chaplain of the Orange Association. On 13th July, my Grandfather's birthday, as he lay on his death-bed, the brethren of his lodge sent two of

their members to receive from him a message that Orangemen might always bear in remembrance. The message he sent to the brethren, while simple, was yet of the utmost value and should, in my opinion, be cherished by every Orangeman in Canada and exemplified in his life. The Message was this: "Tell the Brethren they must be Bible heeders as well as Bible readers."

ANNIE J. FERGUSON-BURKE

Toronto, Ontario,
July, 1935.



Annie J. Ferguson-Burke -



A. H. Birmingham

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

IN THE written story of Canadian Orangeism, *From the Boyne to Brampton* is the outstanding contribution. Mr. Perkins Bull, K.C., has read widely of the early days of the Orange Association; hence he has been able to include in his most interesting volume on Peel Orangeism, an historical account of the growth and development of the Association throughout the world.

Altogether too little has been written about the outstanding position which the Orange Association of Canada occupied in the stirring days between the close of the War of 1812-14 and the federation of the province in 1867. It was the period, so far as Upper Canada was concerned, of the demand for Responsible Government, the controversy over the Clergy Reserves, the Rebellion of 1837, the Act of Union of 1840 and the Rebellion Losses Bill of 1849. In all of these matters the Orangemen were far from being silent witnesses. There was in those days no other secret society or public association of English-speaking Canadians that approached in any respect the strength both in numbers and influence of the Orange Order.

Without assistance from the Orange Order the rebels of 1837 in Upper Canada would in all probability have obtained control of the Province, at least until such time as a British army could have been sent to take charge. A majority of the Order favoured Responsible Government and so expressed themselves in Grand Lodge, but they considered that the maintenance of the British connection was the paramount issue. They believed it was in danger; hence their definite stand.

Peel Orangeism is old, so far as the age of the Order in Canada is concerned. It antedates the arrival in this country in 1829 of Ogle R. Gowan, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Gowan, M.P., the "Father and Founder" of Canadian Orangeism, who, by his outstanding ability and boundless energy, welded together the isolated lodges in Canada. That Peel lodges were amongst the first is proved by the fact that they obtained from Colonel Gowan such early warrants as numbers 5 and 10.

The story of early Peel lodges is admirably set forth by Mr. Perkins Bull. He tells how they carried on their meetings, the difficulties they encountered and the prominent place hospitality occupied in their activities. From his comments on the expense accounts it would appear that total abstinence was not generally observed by members of the Order. The names of early leaders are given due prominence, while their efforts and achievements are by no means overlooked. The "glorious Twelfth" was the day of days in Peel, as in many other parts of old Upper Canada, and right royally did the Orangemen celebrate the victory of the Boyne.

Peel, as Mr. Perkins Bull indicates, was represented from 1861 to 1872 in the House of Commons by the Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, Q.C., Grand Master of British America from 1859 to 1870, and one of the foremost Canadians of his day. From 1872 until his death in 1876 he was Member for Cardwell which included the two upper Peel townships—Albion and Caledon.

Apart from being a priceless document to the members and friends of the Orange Association, Mr. Perkins Bull's volume cannot fail to prove of intense interest to students of Canadian history in general.

A. H. BIRMINGHAM

Master, County Orange Lodge of Toronto

Toronto, Ontario,
December, 1934.



Ernest Hendricks John Campbell



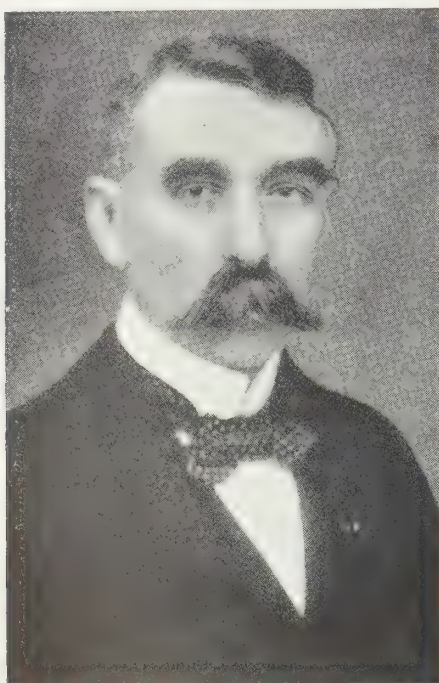
Richard Rupp Oliver Simon Shaw



Hillyard Birmingham



Douglas Robertson



H. Dancy



Rufus Reid

Courtesy Hillyard Birmingham, Douglas Robertson, & Imperial Grand Orange Council of the World.

ORANGE TRADITION IN ONE FAMILY

THIS Orange history, which is designedly world-wide in its scope and which should appeal alike to the scholar and to the wayfaring man, is appropriately enough the work of one who springs from a long line of Orangemen. Both through his father, Bartholomew Hill Bull, founder of the firm of B. H. Bull & Son, the greatest Jersey cattle breeders in the world, and through his maternal grandfather, William Duncan, William Perkins Bull, K.C., author of *From the Boyne to Brampton*, represents a century-old Orange tradition.

The name Bull is well known to Orange history in the Mother Land. The Honourable Harcourt Bull, son of G. S. Bull, was connected with the Brunswick lodges when Orangism was temporarily in abeyance during the eighteenth-twenties. George Perkins Bull, newspaper proprietor of Montreal and later of Hamilton, was a noted Orangeman in pioneer Canada.

In the direct line of the author himself it is possible to go back to his great-great-grandfather, John Bull, who in 1818 settled with his son Bartholomew on Bull's road, now Davenport road, Toronto. John was an Orangeman of the old sort, direct from County Tipperary, with the Methodist local preacher type of zealous fervour specially enlivened by personal friendship with Wesley.

In the log home of John's son Bartholomew, the author's great-grandfather, Orangemen are said to have met without a warrant as early as 1820. Bartholomew was also the founder of Davenport Methodist church and, in a sense, of the entire Davenport community.

John Perkins Bull, Bartholomew's eldest son, and likewise an Orangeman, was founder of Downsview church. He served as deputy reeve of the Township of West York for several years, and was a director of the West York Agricultural Society in Clarke Wallace's day, and a J.P. for over thirty-five years.

The Bulls were active Orangemen excepting only the author's father, Bartholomew Hill Bull. That branch of the family lost interest, and the affiliation was dropped until the

author, his brothers, and his sons, brought reinforcements.

Meanwhile, collateral lines also boasted strong Orangemen. Doctor Edward Bull, brother of J. P., coroner at various times for the Counties of York and Simcoe, chairman for many years of the Weston High School Board, and participating also in township politics, was an ardent Orangeman in his youth. In 1845, he is mentioned on the Grand Committee of British America.

Walter Jeffers Bull, half-brother of Bartholomew Hill, president of the West York Liberal-Conservative Association, member of the York County Council, and secretary of the West York Agricultural Association, was Orange too.

Further afield the Bull family also showed its admiration for King William. Among Orange cousins of John Perkins Bull was John Robinson Bull, an early master of Purple Star L.O.L. No. 602, recording steward of Davenport church, a town councillor for West Toronto, a school trustee for twelve years, and a member of the York Pioneers for twenty-four.

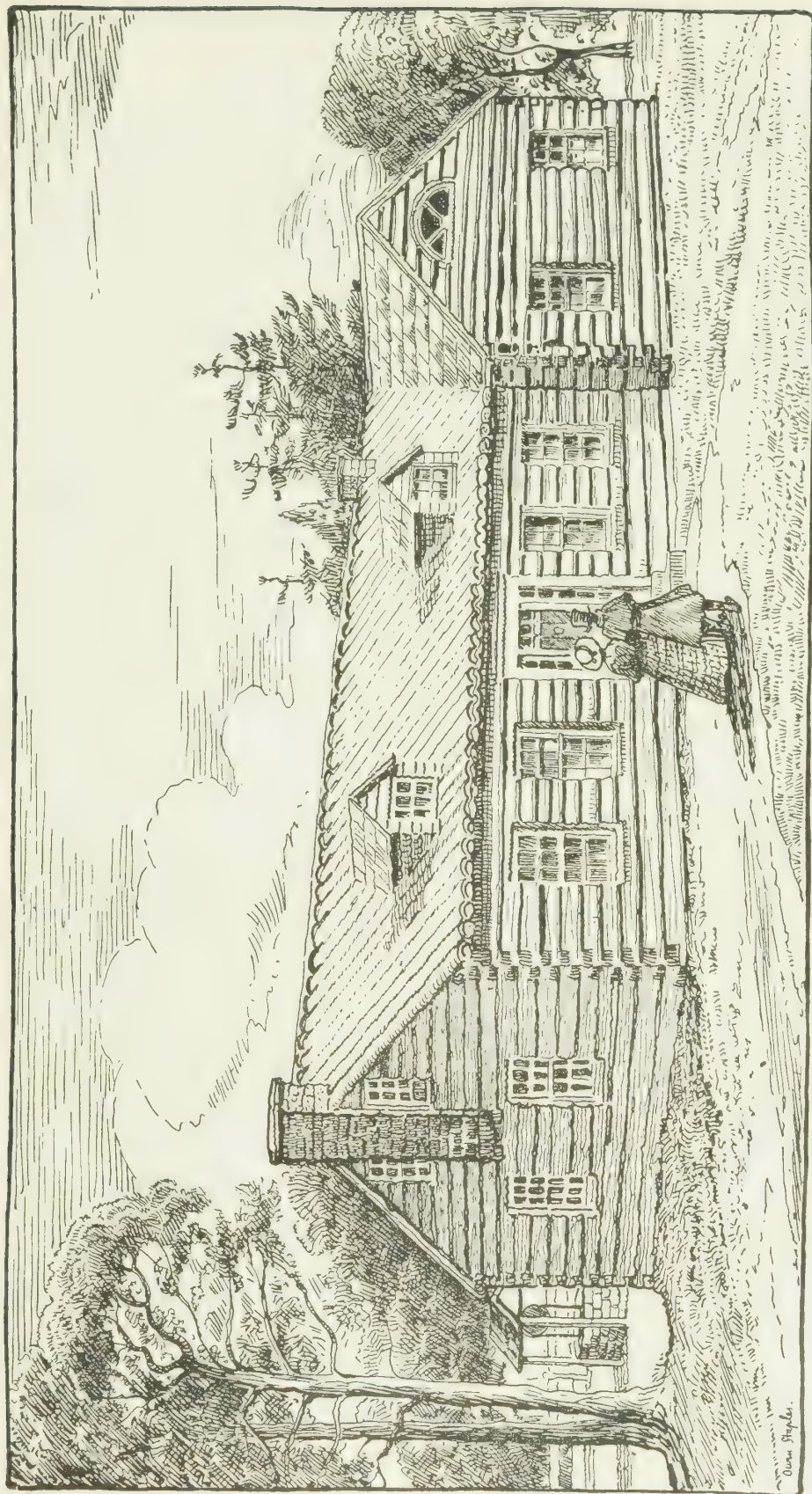
John Edward Bull, another cousin, took over a farm in West York at the age of sixteen and was a prominent member of Grouse Hill L.O.L. No. 191.

Three grandsons of Thomas, a third brother of Bartholomew I, were also enthusiastic members of this lodge. Robert James and Francis William pioneered in Saskatchewan in the early eighties. George A. followed about 1892.

R. J. was wounded during the Riel Rebellion and came home. He became associated with the Massey-Harris Company, sat on township and county councils for five or six years, served as reeve of Weston, 1904-12 and as warden of York county, 1911, and was president of the Liberal-Conservative Association. In furtherance of his Orange ideals he was a member of his local Royal Black Preceptory.

F. W., who remained in the West, operated a grain elevator and had a coal business in Yorkton. He was a member of the school board and was one of the first to hold a seat on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange.

In the West, G. A., took up work with the Massey-Harris Company, moved to Winnipeg, and finally returned to Brampton, where he became a member of the school board and town and county council.



Specially drawn for Perkins Bull Historical Series

FIRST CANADIAN HOME OF BARTHOLOMEW BULL

Scene of early Orange meetings.

The Grouse Hill Lodge, with which so many of the Bull family were associated, was founded by John Duncan, the author's great-uncle, who was district master in 1865. The author's grandfather, William Duncan, and another great-uncle, George Duncan, aided in the auspicious undertaking.

With such ancestry it is no wonder that the temporary break in the Bull Orange tradition proved brief. Among the author's brothers Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel Bartley Bull, B.A., of The Peel and Dufferin Regiment, successively director, secretary-treasurer, and honorary president of the Canadian Jersey Cattle Club and vice-president of the Canadian National Live Stock Records Association, is a member of the ancient No. 5 lodge at Brampton. So is Louis John Carpenter Bull, police magistrate for Peel county, who has served as president of the Peel Agricultural Association, reeve (1916) and mayor (1918-19) of Brampton, and president of the Ontario Fairs Association. A younger brother and Orangeman, Major Jeffrey Harper Bull, B.A., D.S.O., was killed in action in France.

As for Mr. William Perkins Bull, K.C., the author of this amazing volume, and the present head of the family, he represents the apotheosis of the Orange tradition. He is an honorary member of Armstrong Memorial Lodge, Toronto, and of Imperial Lodge, Chicago. He is Past Grand Master of Latin America, Honorary Past Deputy Grand Master both of British America and of the United States of America, and was for some years honorary legal adviser to the Grand Lodge of England and member of the executive council.

His sons follow in his footsteps. Bartle, who is an M.P. in Great Britain, is a member of Armstrong Memorial Lodge, Toronto, as is also Thomas Henry. Captain William Perkins, Jr., is present Grand Master of Latin America.

His grandsons too are already hearing stories of the Orange Order and will grow up in its spirit to carry on the torch when, after what it is hoped may be many more years of useful service, it must at length perforce be dropped from the hands of the present generation.

LOFTUS REID

Imperial Grand Secretary

Toronto, Ontario,
June, 1936.

CHAPTER I
THE ORANGEMEN ARRIVE

*Enniskillen, persevere,
Thy principles extending;
Night's course is waning, day is near,
And Erin's sun ascending.*

JOHN RUTLEDGE, Irish Protestant and good Orangeman, leaned against the door-way of his cabin on lot 13, concession 1 east, in the Township of Toronto, in the Home District of His Majesty's Province of Upper Canada, and gazed upon the small realm that was his by right of conquest. It had been a strenuous fight, but the worst was over. His settlement duties were done—or so nearly done that a kindly government would not take his land away from him. Here at his back was a cabin his brother Archibald and his friends the Grahams had helped him to build with the logs he himself had felled and trimmed. Around him, dotted with stumps, was an open space that he had made ready for seeding. Beyond stretched ninety-odd acres of forest that were still his to conquer.

One of these days he would bring Alice and the children and settle down on his own estate but there was no hurry. Just now it was pleasanter down on the town line at the corners where his wife's brother-in-law Thomas Graham was going to put up a tavern. There would be odd jobs to do, and he might get work on the road if they could persuade the government to set aside a little money for improvements. He might even help run the tavern if Thomas went back to New York, as he planned. Or a little shop in connection with it, in case Alice, who was a strict Methodist, disapproved of the tavern. There'd be good business at that corner as the northern sections of the new settlements were opened up and somehow he had to save enough hard cash to pay his patent fees—almost £6, an enormous sum for that day.

It was nearly midnight and John had worked hard all day, yet he did not feel like sleeping. He wanted to stand here a while longer and contemplate this strange new world of his; to drink in the peacefulness of the warm and windless night; to savour the friendly smell of the smoke that still hovered over his smouldering brush-pile; to listen to the

comfortable noises his yoke of oxen made in their roofless stall at the edge of the clearing; and to feel his feet take firmer root in this rough black soil that was now his for as long as he chose to hold it.

True, the land was not green and silver and fruitful like the home of his boyhood, but there was freedom here and security for loyal men and Protestants—not like that lovely and distracted island he had left. When he rode off from Graham's Corners to market, or to Orange lodge, his wife and babes would not be in constant peril like their kin of County Tyrone or County Fermanagh. Not that he was afraid of a fight for himself, but Ireland was no place to establish a home, to bring up children. This isn't much of a place either, he thought, but I have groaned and sweated for it; such as it is, it's mine, and no Romanist can take it from me.

John's earliest memories were interwoven with his father's stories of the Battle of the Boyne. Old James Rutledge—or James Archibald Rutledge, as his descendants claim his full name must have been—was a scholarly man with a special bent for classics and mathematics. He had studied in Dublin, and his fine copperplate signature still appears, over the date of 1777, in an Euclid which he passed on to John's younger brother, George. The three elder brothers were less interested than George in grammar and arithmetic, however, or the Latin, Greek, and higher mathematics to which these soon gave place. From the beginning they preferred history, and especially the history of the great Prince of Orange who had saved England and Ireland for the Protestant faith. John, in particular, loved to look at the picture of King William III, with his luxuriant wig and his prancing horse, that occupied a prominent position wherever the wandering Rutledges set up for a time their household gods. He knew, almost as well as though he had seen with his own eyes, how the King looked on that autumn day in 1688 when his fine frigate, the *Brill*, followed by its escort of troop ships, rounded the curving coast-line and sailed into Torbay.

In view of the fact that old Mr. Rutledge could hardly have been present on that memorable occasion, his knowledge of William's progress to Exeter was remarkably detailed. With him returned a little band of British refugees,



From National Portrait Gallery, London, England

BISHOP BURNET



Courtesy Dr. George H. Locke

LANDING OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE



THE ONLY DUAL MONARCHS IN BRITISH HISTORY



Reproduced by special permission from original prints in British Museum, London, England

SIGNATORIES, DECLARATION OF EXETER

Left: Rt. Hon. Godart, Baron de Ginkel, Earl of Athlone; right: Sir Edward Seymour

who had gathered in Holland. They might well have been denominated the first Orange Association, since they had sworn to secure for England the religious liberty possible only under a Protestant regime. But when they had reached England they had joined with the rest of the Protestant nobility and gentry who had remained at home, in the Declaration of Exeter, or "Orange Confederation". Six hundred bigwigs had signed this, old Mr. Rutledge told his round-eyed son. Of course they were not a real society. They had sworn to see William established and they had fulfilled their oath. That was all there was to it.

Even among King James's own soldiers on Hounslow Heath, Williamite groups had soon put forth their strong, far-reaching tentacles. They had secret emblems and passwords, and they turned the army against the tyrant. There were similar organizations within the Irish militia. Hadn't a dozen or more of the Grahams and Rutledges of Enniskillen been loyal members of their County Association? Wasn't John's own second cousin once removed among those grand Enniskilleners whom the wounded King William, on his fine, white horse, had led so gallantly at the Battle of the Boyne? Not that the men of Tyrone or Antrim or Armagh were behind those of Fermanagh. They were all in it, and they saved England as well as Ireland.

Although of two great pictures hanging close together on the walls of a famous gallery, one depicts King William III on a spirited black steed, there was only one picture in the mind of John Rutledge's father. He flaunted everywhere not only the orange ribbons of the great deliverer but also the blue badge of the House of Hanover which afterwards ensured a Protestant succession. Furthermore, to the end of his days the music of fife and drums stirred him, and he clung to the old airs that were used to encourage the Protestant army at the Boyne. Notable among these was that "foolish ballad", as Burnet calls it, *Lilliburlero*, by which James was "shamed out of his dominions". The tune was catchy and although the verses were not witty they struck home to the consciences of Jacobites and had a wide influence. The last verse is as follows:

"Dere was an old prophecy found in a bog,
Lilliburlero, bullen a-la—

Ireland shall be rul'd by an ass and a dog,
Lilliburlero, bullen a-la—
 And now dis prophecy is come to pass,
Lilliburlero, bullen a-la—
Lero lero, lilliburlero, lero lero, bullen a-la,
Lero lero, lilliburlero, lero lero, bullen a-la,
 For Talbot's de dog, and Ja . . . s is the ass—
Lilliburlero, bullen a-la."

Not a great while after the splendid victory at the Boyne, someone had discovered a villainous plot to kill His Majesty. That had shown whether or not it was safe for the supporters of his cause to relax their vigilance. It was not. They had stood steadfastly on guard ever since, and Orange ribbons had soon become a symbol of all that was loyal and decent. For a century after the Battle of the Boyne,

"The name of the Great Deliverer was in every mouth. The farmer drank his health in a pot of beer; the squire wished him long life in a bumper of claret; the clergyman prayed for him from the pulpit; and the townspeople paid him the highest compliment they could when they likened him to Cromwell."

One inn hung out a signboard with a painting of an orange cow giving blue milk. Another displayed a monster salmon with violet-coloured fins and tail. A small window in a suburb exhibited a gentleman in blue, sitting on an orange horse, and drinking to "the Glorious Memory" in red ale out of a purple pint. Men dated events in the lives of their fathers, grandfathers, or great-grandfathers, as having happened so many years before or after the Battle of the Boyne. People were even buried with orange sashes on their shrouds.

Of course, Protestants had had their celebrations and parades long before that. Even in the reign of King Charles II, according to Bryant, the "pet political aversion" of the English had been Popery.

"Once a year the London mob processed through the city with effigies of Pope, Cardinals and Devils, which they stuffed with live cats to make them squall realistically and burnt amidst shouts of delight at Smithfield."

But all this was little more than incoherent roistering, disregarded, if not actively opposed, by Protestants of the better class. The Battle of the Boyne, by providing an adequately noble inspiration and fusing all this sporadic excitement on a central achievement and a single serious purpose, restrained excesses and regularized and lifted demonstrations

to a plane where they could be shared with dignity by the gentry, the nobility, and even Royalty itself.

The first celebrations of the Battle of the Boyne were almost as wild as the unorganized street outbursts which had preceded them. One of the earliest groups of celebrants, known as The Aldermen of Skinner's Alley, is said to have found its nucleus in the Williamites of the Dublin City



THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE

Council, who had been replaced by King James, during his temporary occupation of the city, with his own nominees. These worthies were restored by the new sovereign to their old positions and to honour his memory "a permanent association" was formed. The number of members was unlimited, and "no class, however humble, was excluded", but the majority were connected with the Corporation. Sir Jonah Barrington is quoted as stating that at monthly meetings the supper included "*sheep's trotters* [in allusion to King James's running away from Dublin], rum punchin blue jugs, whisky punch

in white ones, and *porter* in its *pewter*". On 1st July, at the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, "every man unbuttoned his breeches, and drank the toast on his bare joints":

"The glorious—pious—and immortal memory of the great and good King William—not forgetting Oliver Cromwell who assisted in redeeming us from popery, slavery, arbitrary power, brass money, and wooden shoes. May we never want a Williamite to kick the x x x of a Jacobite!—and a x x x for the *Bishop of Cork*! And he that won't drink this, whether he be priest, bishop, deacon, bellows-blower, gravedigger, or any other of the fraternity of *the clergy*—may a north wind blow him to the south, and a west wind blow him to the east! May he have a dark night—a lee shore—a rank storm, and a leaky vessel, to carry him over the river Styx! May the dog Cerberus make a meal of his r . . . p, and Pluto a snuff-box of his skull; and may the devil jump down his throat with a red-hot harrow, with every pin tear out a gut, and blow him with a *clean* carcass to hell! *Amen!*"

It is difficult to take this rigmarole seriously, especially

in view of the fact that in 1829 the organization, according to Ogle R. Gowan, contained numerous distinguished members including, doubtless in an honorary capacity, "the Illustrious Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington". That the toast itself, however, had some foundation is suggested by the fact that the Bishop of Cork is recorded as violently criticizing, in 1713 and succeeding years, men's habit of meeting regularly to toast "the Glorious, Pious and Immortal Memory".

This organization was confined to Dublin, as the 'Prentice Boys were confined to Derry, but there were others which were less limited in scope. The Loyal and Friendly Society of the Blue and Orange, must already have been strong in 1743 when a print of Namur was dedicated to it. The Boyne, or Royal Boyne, Society, founded in Dublin by men from loyal old Enniskillen, spread rapidly, and is said sometimes to have borne the name of Orangemen. John Rutledge's own father seems to have been a Boyne Man though he had never reached the dizzy pinnacle of a Knight of the Most Glorious Order of the Boyne. John was not very old before he decided that when he grew up he would follow his father's example. He too would wear orange and blue ribbons. He too would drink to "the Glorious, Pious and Immortal Memory". Best of all, he too would decorate royal statues and pictures on the anniversary of that 1st July which, because of the "lost eleven days", stolen by parliament in 1751, as his grandfather had always grumbled, was now the illustrious twelfth.

Meanwhile, John thrilled to tales of the brave 'prentice boys of Derry and could hardly wait for a chance to emulate their heroism. His descendants were to have such an opportunity, but in the New World, not the Old, and Rutledges were to march out against rebels and invaders by way, not of Derry, but of Derry West.

Not that John's own life was one of peace and stagnation. By no means. He was little more than a baby when he first saw Roman Catholic heads broken. His father, who had a wandering foot and who seems to have lived at various times in half the counties of northern Ireland, had gone off with John on the pretext of visiting a kinsman at Benburb near the eastern border of Tyrone. While James Rutledge

was asking what would be a smart man's chance of gathering a little school for himself thereabouts, Roman Catholics attacked the house. After the fight, Wilson of Dian, who



From Protestant or True Blue Loyal Songs, 1825

SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY, 1698

had tried in vain to bring some Masonic friends to their assistance, had called little Johnny a stout lad, and invited the father to come and snare rabbits with some friends at Colrevig. Despite his scholarship, James was no pallid, indoor man, but a full-blooded Irishman, always ready for sport or a fight. He was only too glad to seize this pretext of postponing his return to the grind at home. He accepted Wilson's invitation and Johnny, of course, went along.

There had been a thin, drizzling mist the night young Johnny Rutledge's father met Isaac Jeffs and John and Abraham Dilly of Derryoughill on the cold whinney-hill, and the youngster was left warm by the fire of the Wilson cabin. His father told him that, when he grew up, he too would be enrolled as one of the Orange boys who were organized in that night's chill secrecy. The Protestant civilians of Ireland needed just such an organization. Didn't the 4th Regiment wear orange and purple ribbons on their breasts at royal reviews? Hadn't two of the King's handsome sons, and, some said, His Majesty himself, been initiated in the

Blue and Orange Society of that same regiment? And wasn't the need of the men at home even greater than that of the soldiers? When he was older, Johnny could be proud to remember that he had seen the beacon lighted which would soon be blazing all over Ireland. Meanwhile, he must be a good lad, obey his father and the King, and go to sleep.

James Rutledge's stories were heavy meat for a white-headed urchin, and it was no wonder if the boy got some fantastic ideas. James II had been a bad man and a wicked king, little Johnny decided. He had been secretly in the pay of the Pope and until the day of his death was ashamed to admit it. He had taken money from the poor people of England to buy scarlet robes for the Pope to wear as he strutted about in his gorgeous palace at Rome. He had persecuted honest, hardworking Britishers for no other reason than that the Pope told him to do so. If he had reigned long enough, he would have burned down all the Protestant churches in Great Britain, and put all the Protestants to the stake, but while there were loyal Orange boys alive, such atrocities could not be.

About the Orange boys, John was still vaguer. He understood in a general way that they were Irishmen who did not like the Pope and did not want the Pope or his priests to take their country away from them. In order to prevent this they were banding themselves together into a secret army which would march around the town every 12th July to warn people not to try to put a Roman Catholic king on the British throne again. This program was of just the sort that appealed to Johnny, and he could hardly wait until such time as he should grow old enough to be enrolled.

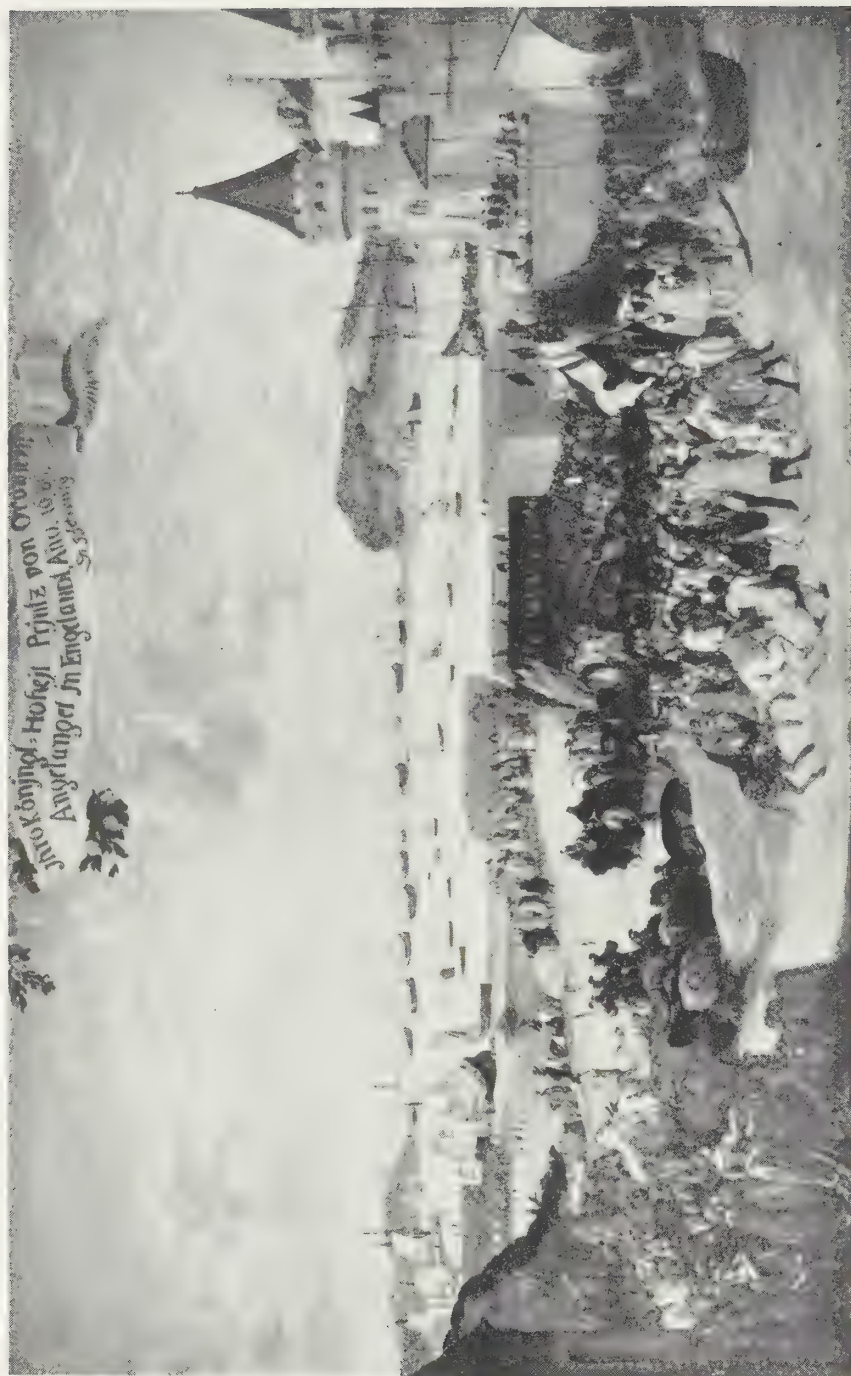
Incredible that a child should get such ideas? Yes, in the light of contemporary tolerance. But things were very different in eighteenth-century Ireland, when a good many adults were almost as hysterical. With reason enough, too, in those stirring times, when the most peaceful man was wise to sleep with one ear cocked for trouble. Defenders, Levellers, White boys, and other roving bands scoured the country-side committing murder, arson, and rape. As the marauders called themselves Roman Catholics, Protestants were their chief victims, though they were not above robbing and murdering their co-religionists also. These secret



From engraving in Perkins Bull Collection

THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE

"To His Royal Highness George, Prince of Wales, this plate engraved from the original picture in the collection of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Grosvenor, is by permission dedicated by His Royal Highness's most faithful obedient servants—Benjamin West (Historical painter to His Majesty) and John Hall (Historical engraver to His Majesty). Published in 1781 by B. West, J. Hall and W. Woodlatt."



Inte Koningl. Hofeji Pjntz von Oranien
Angetungen Im Engeland Anno 1688.
S. 31. 1688

By special permission of the Lord Chamberlain from painting in Hampton Court Palace

WILLIAM OF ORANGE LANDING AT BRIXHAM

organizations seldom committed their depredations by daylight, but prowled about like wolves by night so that the authorities were unable to cope with them effectively.

Nor were the Roman Catholics the only offenders. Naturally the wilder element among the Protestant youth was inspired by their ruthless example. Retaliatory organizations such as the Peep-o'-Day boys were not, in the main, much more law-abiding than their opponents. Tempers were everywhere set with hair-triggers, and no one knew from day to day when the next explosion would take place.

Not many months after Wilson's organization of his Dian boys came the first sad encounter at Loughgall. It was pretty difficult to fix the blame for that, and wiser heads among both parties were shaken deprecatingly at the news. Of course, men had been up all of a warm June night at one of the most successful wakes of the season, and they were in a devil-may-care mood. Besides, cock-fights have been known to stir up words and blows among steadier men than Defenders and Peep-o'-Day boys. But it was a pity about such brawls. They obscured the real issues that were at stake—issues that came to a head, on 21st September following, at the Diamond.

History does not tell in detail what Wilson's Orange boys were doing in the year or so that elapsed between their organization and the stirring events of autumn, 1795. John Rutledge's fragmentary childhood recollections, handed down through son and grandson, are even vaguer. Sibbett suggests, however, that several lodges were organized in alliance with the first Dian group, and Barlowe indicates that they had:

"A complete code of signals by which they could communicate with each other, by day or night, over a wide area of country . . . a ritual of initiation, signs, grips, and passwords".

Unlike the Peep-o'-Day boys and their ilk, the Orange boys were sober, thoughtful men, and their aims, while purely defensive, were much more comprehensive than any of the rioting, brawling night-prowlers'. Here, for the first time, began an organization designed for permanent effort rather than to meet a specific emergency, and general rather than purely local in scope and interest. It may well be that, without such foundations, the structure of which the first bricks were laid at Diamond hill could never have been

commenced at all.

Diamond hill was clear across the county from Strabane, where the Rutledges seem now to have been temporarily ensconced, but when the head of the family heard that the Roman Catholics had determined to make an example of an aggressively Protestant hamlet, he did not hesitate a moment. He threw down his flail—for he was farmer as well as teacher—took up the family musket, and set forth with a handful of friends. Among these were doubtless the father and uncle of John's chums, the Broddy boys. Robert Broddy, who was now eight, saw no reason why he could not go as a drummer boy, but his father bade him stay at home with six-year-old John Rutledge, "to look after the younger children and the women folk".

By the time the Strabane men got to the Diamond it looked as though they had had their trip for nothing. There was a great crowd of Defenders gathered in the gravel pit across the valley, but the gentry and their own priests were haranguing them, and they seemed almost ready to turn tail.

"I don't like it, though," one can hear Wilson saying to a company of Orange boys, assembled in Diamond Dan Winter's to 'wet their whistles' before setting out on the long homeward tramp. "Mr. Atkinson says they've signed a paper promising to disperse peacefully, but they can't all have signed it."

"Besides," someone else would pipe up, "what's to hinder them un-dispersing again as soon as they get around the bend in the road?"

So it would seem to have been settled that the main Protestant forces should move off slowly in the direction of their respective homes. A few would remain to see the Roman Catholics leave the district and it would be easy to summon back reinforcements if they were needed. A fortunate precaution! Twenty-four hours had not fled when the Roman Catholics, stronger than ever, swooped down on Diamond Dan's, drove out the old tavern-keeper and his people, and plundered and fired the place. Fighting began again in earnest, and lads set off at top speed to recall such forces as the Broddy-Rutledge party and the slowly departing Orange boys of Dian.

After seven hours of marching and counter-marching

and several hot skirmishes, the attacking Defenders retired with their wounded, leaving forty-eight dead in the valley. The Protestants were badly battered too, but exulted in victory. There on the field, around the ruins of old Dan Winter's inn, they formed a circle, crossed hands, and swore an oath of brotherhood. Then they repaired to the nearest tavern, Jim Sloan's, with its signboard showing the Prince of Orange crossing the Boyne, to write down their pledges of loyalty to each other and to the Protestant succession. "The days, or rather nights, of meeting on hills, behind hedges, in lime-kilns, and in other out-of-the-way spots, were now over." The days of the Loyal Orange Association had begun.

James Rutledge was not among the legislators of the first general meeting of the Orange Society, held at Portadown, County Armagh, in the following year. Perhaps he was already on the move again, seeking pupils, or some business position in which he could use his knowledge of accounting and engineering, a search which, by 1808 or 1809, seems to have landed him, dizzy and uncertain, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Enniskillen, where he had kinsfolk. At any rate, wherever he was, he must have awaited with great impatience the news of this first grand assembly in 1796.

Because the Association, as an association, was still in swaddling-clothes, and each of the scattered lodges had come into existence independently, nothing very important was accomplished at this first convention beyond a discussion of ways and means and a clarification of aims and objects. By 1798, however, the first Grand Lodge of Ireland was finally complete with ritual, constitution and by-laws, and well-defined purpose. In short, the plans and specifications for the great edifice of Orangeism were already well in hand.

The Boyne Society seems to have been incorporated with the Orange Association, and Rutledge was pleased to trace in the new Qualifications the spirit and even the phraseology of the older organization. With young John watching over his shoulder, he copied out in his fine, readable hand, the Orangeman's Qualifications and the names of the original Grand Officers, names to conjure with in Protestant Ireland of that day.

"He should have a sincere love and veneration for his Almighty

Maker, productive of those lively and happy fruits, righteousness—and obedience to his Commands; A firm and steady faith in the Saviour of the World: convinced that He is the only Mediator between a sinful creature and an offended Creator. Without these he can be no Christian. Of a humane and compassionate disposition, and a courteous and affable behaviour. He should be an utter enemy to savage brutality and unchristian-like cruelty. Let him be a lover of society and improving company, and have a laudable regard for the Protestant Religion, and a sincere endeavour to propagate its precepts—zealous of promoting the honour of his King and Country, and a hearty desire for victory and success, but convinced and assured that GOD only can grant it.

“A hatred for cursing and swearing, and taking the name of GOD in vain, (a shameful practice) taking all opportunities to discourage it among his brethren. Wisdom and prudence should guide his actions, honesty and integrity influence his conduct, and honor and glory be the motives of his endeavours.

“Lastly—he must pay the strictest attention to a religious observance of the Sabbath, and also of temperance and sobriety.”

Grand Officers, first Grand Lodge in Ireland, July 12, 1797; Captain William Blacker, Grand Master, Armagh; Thomas Verner, Esq., Grand Master, Tyrone, Derry and Fermanagh; Dr. William Atkinson, Grand Master, Antrim; Thos. Seaver, Esq., Grand Treasurer, Armagh; David Verner, Esq., Grand Secretary, Armagh; John Crossle, Esq., Grand Secretary, Tyrone; William Hart, Grand Secretary, Antrim; Wolsey Atkinson, Acting Grand Secretary.

Though young John was not quite sure of the meaning of all this, it was his firm conviction that no utterance in the English language could compare with it either for beauty of diction or for loftiness of thought. His simple child's mind responded with unrestrained emotion to such solemn terms as “Almighty Maker”, “Offended Creator”, and “Honour and Glory”. He could not read the words “of a humane and compassionate disposition” without feeling his whole being touched and intensified by them. When this priceless document was framed and shed its benign influence on the cabin from a peg above the chimney, he felt that he and his little brothers were under the direct protection of a great body of right-thinking, right-living men, acting under direct orders from the Source of all good.

The more James Rutledge's sons heard of the Orange Order the more anxious they were to grow old enough to qualify for membership. In 1796 or 1797 the Orangemen of Armagh and adjoining counties were reviewed at Lurgan by General Lake and General Knox with a full staff, and many of those on parade wore their yeomanry uniforms,

among them Captain, later Lieutenant-Colonel, Blacker. If this was so in Armagh, it must have been so in Tyrone and Fermanagh also. It can well be imagined how eight-year-old John Rutledge and his younger brothers would follow the glittering parades, with their stirring sound of fifes and drums, and long to share in the glory.

When the United Irishmen, including some of their old enemies, the Defenders, set up the standard of revolt in 1798, the Orangemen again rushed to the rescue. On this occasion, they were formally recognized by the government. Blacker was asked to enlist his fellow members, and given an order for a hundred stand of arms for their use.

Some of the Rutledges may well have followed the colours to Vinegar Hill, for they were a roving race, but the rebellion was soon put down and quiet fell once more upon James's little cabin. Times were hard in Ireland after the Rebellion of 1798, and the bad feeling induced by the Act of Union in 1801 did not make them any easier. Even the Orange Association was rent by controversy and only welded together by the Emmet Rebellion in 1803, when Protestant yeomanry once more helped to save the country.

After that the Orangemen stood together, but their opponents' hatred increased, and Orange processions were interrupted as the Rutledges had personal experience to prove. The first big parade in their district was dispersed by the military. Of course, Orangemen would not stand that sort of thing, so they gathered from twenty-six miles around and forced the general and the sheriff of the county to parade with them through Strabane. They had shown that they would not be browbeaten, but such conflicts left a bad taste in people's mouths.

The Order spread in spite of its foes. A lodge was established at Manchester, England, in 1799, and another at Maybole, in Scotland, in 1800; regiments which had served in Ireland took their warrants back with them. In 1807, there was an attack on a parade to the Collegiate church in Manchester, but within three years the English Orangemen had proven their worth, as their Irish brethren had done earlier, by helping against the mad Luddites who went from place to place breaking machinery.

A few years later the great Robert Peel gave it as his

general opinion that the Orange body might safely be depended on in any emergency for the defence of their country from external attack or internal disorder. Of course, in Ireland, Daniel O'Connell, Sir John Parnell, and their like, were still attacking the Orangemen, but everyone saw through their malicious slanders and the Order continued to grow in strength and general esteem. It looked like a century or two of peace. It is no wonder that, as John Rutledge grew to young manhood, his father's copy of the Orangeman's Qualifications, which was always hung over the fireplace, assumed ever greater importance in his eyes.

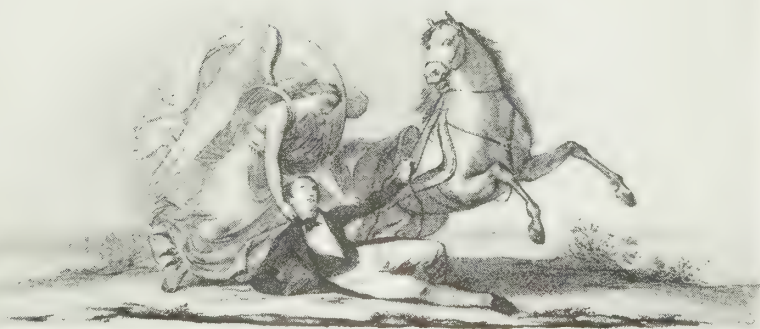
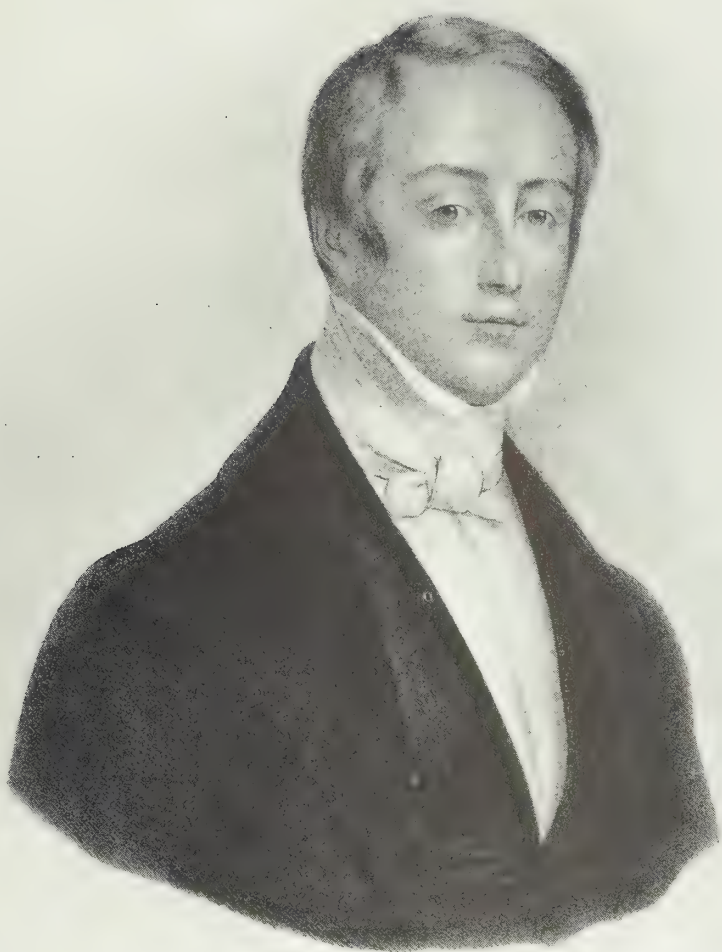
If the difficulties of the Orange Order seemed to be disappearing, the same could not always be said of individual Orangemen. The Rutledge sons were growing up and had their fortunes to find, but how was this to be done in a land of poverty and unrest? George, the youngest, seems to have set off as a travelling teacher, evidently going first to Moorfield, County Antrim, since that address is inscribed in his



books, along with the date and place of their original purchase, Enniskillen, 1809. John seems to have worked quietly as a tenant farmer, probably at Strabane in Tyrone. He was the eldest of the family, and by this time was ready to settle down. Archibald was more ambitious, and took some position on the big estate of the Earl of Leitrim, a newly-created Irish peer, whose seat lay in Donegal not far across the county border from Strabane, and who may,

indeed, have been John's landlord. Probably with the family skill in business and allied subjects, Archibald served as secretary, steward or factor. About the other brothers nothing is known, but there were at least two, and several sisters also, to be provided for. It was an unpromising outlook, and James Rutledge's thoughts could not help straying in search of even greater adventures and farther wanderings than he had known before.

This North America now, that he heard folk tell of—



From engraving in Perkins Bull Collection

THE RT. HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART., M.P.



From engraving by Theodore Maas of picture painted for King William III

THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE: DISPOSITION OF TROOPS

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|---|
| 1. Drogheda | 2. Position at South where James tried battle. | M. Fleeing Irish Cavalry | P. Slane |
| 3. Ford where William crossed Boyne. | N. Little fort. | I. Irish Artillery where Cannonade wounded William before battle. | H. THE RIVER BOYNE |
| 5. Brandenburg Regiment | 4. Nassau Regiment | Q. 3rd Battalion Guards | O. Oldbridge Town |
| K. Mr. Isack | L. Col. Goor | 6. Col. Hamour's Regiment | 1. Heights north of Boyne where William's cannon were placed. |

would that be a good place for industrious Orangemen, he wondered. He wrote, perhaps, to his brother-in-law, the Rev. James McDonald, a Wesleyan Methodist minister in London, England, to ask for advice. He talked matters over with the Grahams, Broddys, Nixons, Crawfords, Cheynes and other old friends in Tyrone or Fermanagh. Young John fell in love with Alice Dixon whose sister Ann was already married to Thomas Graham, most colourful member of a family which, like the Rutledges, seems to have had connections in both Tyrone and Fermanagh. The Grahams and Dixons consulted the Morrisons, and so the discussion spread.

Little by little most of these people began to make plans for the great journey. It is tradition among the Rutledges that the departure of at least some of them was expedited when their landlord terminated their leaseholds. The ruthless landlord is said to have been the Earl of Leitrim, but his action was merely part of a general movement to reduce the number of small tenants. The resultant emigration soon grew to alarming proportions and in the twenties a group of Orange noblemen made plans to stop this by establishing Protestant colonies on the waste lands of their own estates. The Earl of Enniskillen would seem to have made a similar private effort earlier, for a dozen or more homeless families from Tyrone appear to have gathered for a time in Irvines-town, Tedd, and other hamlets clustered around Lough Erne. This theory affords a reasonable explanation of the confusion of emigrants who gave sometimes this locality, and yet again some other, as their original place of departure.

The Grahams got off first, by instalments. Thomas and his wife, the last to depart, left their eldest son, Joseph, with his maternal grandparents, on the understanding that John and Alice should bring him over with them in a year or two, when the financial situation had eased a bit for all of them. Meanwhile, Thomas Graham would look out for a job for John Rutledge. Soon they would all be reunited in New York and all fabulously wealthy.

Things did not go quite according to plan. James Rutledge decided not to emigrate after all, and several of his children followed his example. John and Alice adhered to their original decision and Archibald went with them. They also took their elder child, Catherine, but the mother

thought Jane too young to risk a long journey in the course of which, so her sister had written, passengers were racked with seasickness, and plague was likely to sweep through their ranks. With the travellers, however, went their little nephew, Joseph Graham, not anxious to leave the grandparents who had now cared for him for several years, but eagerly interested in everything on board the brig.

During two months' passage on a small, cramped sailing-vessel, when insufficient and improper food and unsanitary arrangements were wasting their fellow passengers, John and Alice were sometimes driven to wonder whether their great adventure would prove worth the delay and unpleasantness of the prelude. When they disembarked at New York, their doubts were soon set at rest. A wildly excited boy was restored to the arms of his parents and to the sight of a baby brother who had as by miracle been changed into a friend and playmate. Alice and Ann wept and smiled over them, and Thomas Graham took John Rutledge off to the nearest tavern for a jolly reunion with others of the north of Ireland colony that had grown up in New York.

"Really", Alice said to her husband later that night as they were talking over the last eventful hours, "it is more like home here than home itself. There is a Methodist chapel just around the corner, Ann tells me, where she has already joined, and next Sunday is quarterly love feast."

John agreed sleepily, but it must be admitted that at the moment his thoughts were rather on a job than on sacred matters—on work that Thomas Graham had promised to have ready for him and that was not forthcoming.

As the months went by it proved less easy than John had imagined to find permanent employment. There were occasional odd jobs to be picked up, but a post-war depression had settled on the New World and strangers suffered most from it. They helped each other, of course, and they helped the new comers who continued to drift out from Ireland by almost every boat. But this could not go on indefinitely, and by 1818 it was clear that some change must be made immediately.

By this time there was in New York a goodly group of friends and neighbours from Tyrone and Fermanagh. There were: Joseph, James, Thomas, and George Graham; their

nephew, William; their brother-in-law, Martin Morrison; Thomas's brother-in-law, John Rutledge; and John Rutledge's brother, Archibald.

There may have been other Rutledges there too. For example, Eliza Rutledge, born in 1782, was in New York, according to the *Chronicle of the Clark Family*, from 1804 to 1820 or later, and there married John Hawkins of County Tyrone. William Johnston, also of County Tyrone, his wife Mary Rutledge, her mother, and her sister Alice, may also have come to Canada by way of New York, although there seems to be no definite information. If, as suggested by their history, these women were related to John and Archibald Rutledge, they were probably aunts or second cousins.

George Graham's father-in-law, John Henderson, would be another Irish expatriate, and possibly his son, James, who had fought at Waterloo. The four Broddy brothers from Strabane had brought with them a sister who was soon to marry Alexander Nixon, another Tyrone emigrant. There were Cheynes too, from Fermanagh and Tyrone.

Young Michael Crawford may have been there as well. After being told in 1819 that he was too young to get a grant of land in his own name and must await his father's arrival, he seems to have returned to New York about the same time as Thomas Graham. Thomas Brown Phillips, a young man of considerable education and standing from County Fermanagh, was doubtless also in New York by 1818.

Although these men seem, all of them, to have been Orangemen, many were also pious Wesleyan Methodists, a factor which must have marked them out as people of strong and independent convictions in a day when most Orangemen were members of the Church of England. It was pleasant living among all these old friends, but prospects grew no brighter, and John, although among the later arrivals, was one of the first to become impatient.

"This is no place for loyal Britishers", he eventually confided to his friends the Grahams. "The people here can't forget that a quarter of a century ago they were rebellious colonists. They know they've done wrong, so they can't bear anyone to disagree with them. It's all right for the black-hearted Cork Irishmen; let them stay here and make as

much trouble as they like; but it's no good for us."

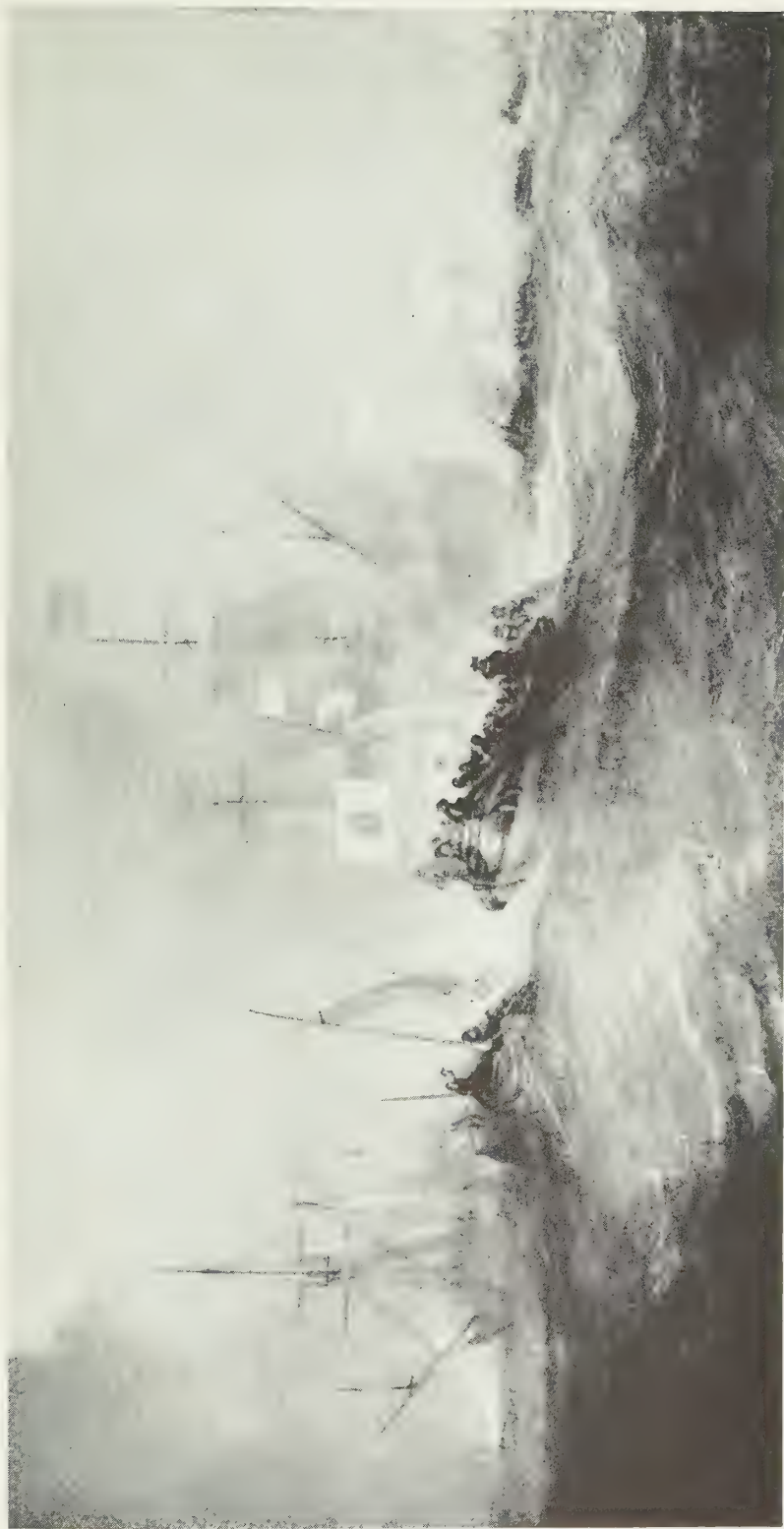
"Maybe you're right, John," said Joseph Graham, "maybe you're right. I've been talking to James Buchanan—he's the consul here now, you know—and he says we're fools to stay. Of course, it's all right for us who got started in business before times were so bad, but I believe we could put our hands on forty or fifty families right now that would be glad and more than glad to get away. Why not go to Upper Canada? Buchanan says there's plenty of good rich land there free for the asking. He'll recommend us to the Lieutenant-Governor and get a block of land reserved with hundred-acre farms for as many people as we want to take up and for their children after them. No three-life leases up there, you know."

Buchanan, whom Graham quoted with such respect, was a fellow Orangeman from their own district. It was perhaps for this reason that he was so active in guiding these and similar colonists back to British soil. Some years later, addressing the Orangemen of Canada West, he stated:

"I became an Orangeman early in the year 1798, in the City of Dublin; and afterwards, when a magistrate in the County of Tyrone, I raised the Baron's Court Corps of Yeomanry, all of whom were Orangemen but two . . . As Her Majesty's Consul at New York . . . I can also appeal to many Orangemen, whom I forwarded to Canada during the years 1817, '18 and '19 as I had authority to recommend loyal subjects for free grants of Land . . ."

In the same address he added that he had earnestly urged them to lay aside their Orange associations, but this statement may be discounted as a concession to prejudices of the day in which he spoke. Certainly in the second decade of the nineteenth century he, like other British subjects, was glad to see Orangemen entering the young colony.

Upper Canada in 1818 and 1819 was still a fringe of settlement along the northern shores of Lake Ontario and eastern Lake Erie, so there was plenty of room for new comers. The valleys of the Credit and the Etobicoke, the southern part of which had been surveyed and opened in the years immediately following 1805, had proved very popular, and enough land to survey several more townships had been bought from the Mississauga Indians directly to the north of the first purchase. In this extremely desirable location, on fertile land close to muddy York, the capital, the



Courtesy The Tate Gallery, London

J. M. W. TURNER, R.A.

"THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, AFTERWARDS WILLIAM III LANDING AT TORRAY, NOVEMBER THE 5TH, 1688."

This picture, No. 369 in "The Turner Collection", is described in the catalogue as follows: "... in centre the Prince standing in Royal barge; behind, a Dutch man-of-war of the transport fleet, saluting; the water covered with craft of various sizes." A note in the Royal Academy Catalogue is also quoted: "The yacht in which His Majesty sailed was, after many changes and services, finally wrecked on Hamburg sands while employed in the Hull trade" (actually on the Black Middens near Tynemouth Castle, according to Wornum). The painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1832.



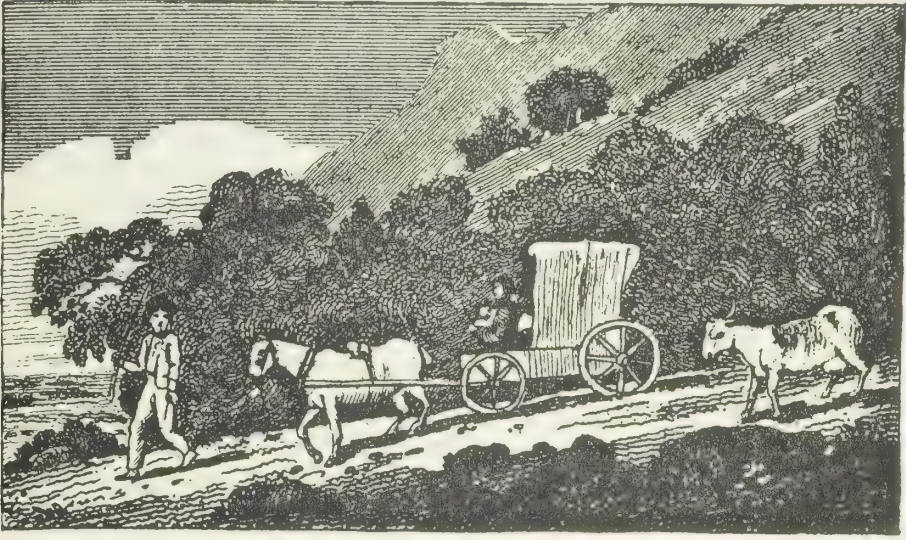
KING WILLIAM III

The old print from which this was taken bears the following verse:

*King William said, "I don't deserve
The name of faith's defender,
If I do not venture life and limb,
To make a foe surrender."
A bullet from the Irish came,
That grazed the Monarch's arm:
We thought his Majesty was slain,
But it did him little harm.*

*"Brave boys," he said, "be not dismayed,
For the losing of one commander,
For God will be our King, this day,
And I'll be general, under."
Then let us all, with heart and hand,
Unite for ever after,
And bless the glorious memory,
Of King William that crossed the water.*

Grahams secured a site for their colony. Doubtless, like the Beattys, another Irish party which came up from New York about the same time and settled a few miles further west, they counted on government aid "in giving the rising generation that Civil and Religious Education which is so essentially necessary to make good and faithful subjects and an ornament to Society".



From an old Public School reader

EMIGRANTS OF OLD

How an artist of the eighties pictured the journey of a caravan such as the Grahams'.

John Rutledge and his party found their trip from New York to their respective allotments full of hardships and not without dangers. They had to make their way through a strange and primitive country to a land they knew nothing about. They had to travel along bad roads and cross wide, treacherous rivers. It was a constant struggle, day after day, night after night. It must have been especially difficult for Alice and John Rutledge. Catherine, now about six years old, was just at an age to run about and get into mischief. George, who had been born very soon after their arrival in New York, was a lively two-year-old. He wriggled out of his mother's arms in crossing by ferry at Niagara, fell overboard, and was fished out with the greatest difficulty, half drowned and thoroughly terrified. There was a baby too, little Elizabeth, who had just arrived and

who needed constant attention.

At York there were further complications. There were all sorts of formalities to be completed before a settler could receive his Order in Council for land, and each man had to attend to them for himself. Sometimes the stupidity or venality of officials involved the settlers in all sorts of unnecessary difficulties. The Broddys, for instance, had originally spelled their name Brodie or Broddie but when they finally went to get their title deeds they found that their names had been erroneously registered as Broddy. The registrar offered to change the spelling but the applicants decided not to bother—it was easier to change the name. This did not seem so serious then as now, for spellings were less fixed, and the same name sometimes appears in old minute books at Brody, Brodey, or Broddy.

In such clerical problems the immigrants spent most of the first summer at York. It is by an odd coincidence, if indeed it is by coincidence at all, that this summer, as Alexander Dixon was to assure Sir Francis Bond Head a few years later, saw the first Orange parades in the town. It is more than likely that John Rutledge and the rest of the Graham party were among the strong supporters, if not the prime movers, of this great innovation. Certainly they could not have failed to participate.

They needed something of this sort to hearten them for the task that still lay before them. All the dangers and difficulties they had heretofore encountered had been child's play beside those they experienced in finding the land to which their Orders in Council referred. The surveyors had not always placed their marks wisely. Many were impermanent. Blazes were few and hard to find. Much of the forest was almost impassable. The Kings, who came into the same district in the same summer, 1819, had to cut their way through twenty miles of bush to get to their lot. According to James Buchanan's letter of 24th June, 1819, Thomas Graham had similarly "assisted in opening a road 14 miles into the settlement at great labour and expense". Subsequent accounts indicate that these roads were almost impassable. Often for considerable distances they were merely ill-marked paths through otherwise untouched forest. During the first summer, it is unlikely that the women of the party

got any farther than Grahamsville, if indeed they left York at all.

On their homesteads even worse trouble was in store for the settlers. There they faced all the deprivations and perils of the pioneer: accidents by forest, field, and flood; shortages of food; difficulty of communication with the outside world; lack of social life, religious and educational privileges, and so on. Worst of all were the epidemics of ague. The heat and moisture of that swampy hinterland nourished the fever like some venomous tropical plant. It kept the men indoors for several weeks, impeding the women's work and doubling their responsibilities. Sometimes whole families were down with it at one time. Then it disappeared almost as suddenly as it had come, to be commemorated only by crude wooden crosses under the tall pine trees on some of the tiny farm-steads.

Still, it had been worth all the anxiety and effort, John felt as he stood in the darkness gazing around his little clearing. Once more they were under the protection of the Union Jack, once more under a Protestant sovereign. At the thought all their hearts beat more quickly with joyful pride. They were together, or at least within access of each other, in this province of loyalists where they would not be molested by treason and popery. They had broad acres to hand down to their sons and daughters, and their families could live together for many generations in peace and prosperity as befitted loyal Protestants and good Orangemen.



CHAPTER II

A WARRANT AND A WALK

*Tell me, my friends, why are we met here?
Why thus assembled, ye Protestant boys?
Do mirth and good liquor, good humour, good cheer,
Call us to share of festivity's joys?
Oh, no! 'tis the cause
Of King—Freedom—and Laws,
That calls loyal Protestants now to unite;
And Orange and Blue,
Ever faithful and true,
Our King shall support, and sedition affright.*

HARD as was John Rutledge's first year in Upper Canada he managed to spare an occasional hour for the education of the baby boy who had been born in New York. The mother could teach the children their alphabet and instruct the girls, when the time came, in all the arts befitting a good housewife. A son was a different matter. John remembered the hours his father had spent in guiding him through the mazes of mathematics and history. In history, especially, a future Orangeman like young George should get his teaching from the head of the house. And get it he did, in a most graphic form.

"Look, George," the busy father would cry to the four-year-old son perched gravely on a stump beside him, "that rill running into the Etobicoke is the Boyne. It's not really the Boyne, you know, but let's suppose it is. Over there, where the cabin is, was James's army. James himself was well behind, where that dead maple stands at the foot of the hill. Here, beside this stump is William on his grand white horse. It is early in the morning and pretty soon the bugler sounds the advance . . . " And so the history lesson would proceed until the father's work took him to another part of the clearing.

Whether he was stirred by the lisped questions of his son, or by his father's framed copy of the Orangeman's Qualifications, which he had brought with him from Ireland and which was now, not without some ostentation, enshrined above his crude stone fireplace, John Rutledge was not long content to confine his talk of Orangeism to so limited an audience. He wanted some form of organized Orange activity. This desire was crystallized into positive

intention in the spring of 1820 when his brother George walked up from Sydenham, Frontenac county, to visit him.

After John's departure from Ireland, George had made a vain attempt to gather pupils and start a school in Enniskillen. Failing in this, he had sailed for Quebec on 1st July, 1819, arriving in early autumn after a terrible passage. George brought his note-book with him on his visit to John and showed him among other items a shorthand account of a meeting in Enniskillen on 1st March, 1819, at which Mr. Edward Archdale had given a stirring address to the Protestants of the county. John walked back as far as Whitby to see his brother safely on his way, and they talked of the great place Orange lodges might fill in this new country. When he turned homeward John was ready to act. By the time he reached his own cabin again he had a list of names worked out in his mind and all his plans were made.

Already there were plenty of Orangemen in the district, and they must often have gathered in Thomas Graham's tavern at the corners of the town-line, or in the shop which John and Archibald had started in connection with it. That would be the place to call the first meeting, John decided. It might be hard for Andrew and Christopher Cheyne to get across, for they were already living on the lot just north of John's own, away over on the undeveloped Centre road, but they would be with the Orangemen anyway, whether they could get across to the first meeting or not. James Grafton might not come either, though he and his brother *ought* to be interested. But most of the rest would find the tavern convenient enough.

A few weeks later, after he had finished putting in a little grain and a nice field of potatoes, and when a full moon was due to give light for coming and going, John passed the word round to his neighbours, and a night was set for the great event. From his cabin in the bush he brought in the list of an Orangeman's Qualifications, and he now affixed it in its fit setting above the fire-place. The solemn words were a little smoke-grimed but still legible. In their spirit this humble inn could, he felt, house an Orange lodge as genuine and acceptable, in the sight of God, as any of the grand, chartered lodges operating in Ireland. It was a pity that Thomas and Joseph Graham had gone back to New

York. They would have liked to be at this organization meeting.

Guests came early, in those days of sketchy roads and long walks. George Armstrong would be there, certainly, and so would Martin Morrison and James and Joseph Chambers. Joseph and Henry Bell might get in from The Gore of Toronto. George Graham, who was to be the founder of Derry West on the Centre road, would also make an effort to be present, busy as he must have been looking after Thomas's and Joseph's property, and acting as chief neighbourhood representative of the older generation of Grahams. James Graham would be there too, unless by this time, as seems more probable, he had moved across to Streetsville. The responsible presence of Thomas Brown Phillips might also lend dignity to the meeting.

The traditional list of lodge founders also includes a certain Mulvin, Mervin, or Marvin, who is not recorded as owning land in the district, but who may have had a job of sorts at Grahamsville or been living with a kinsman. It may have been John Melvin, an Irish shoemaker who emigrated to America in 1819, and reached Canada soon afterwards. In short, most of the Orangemen who were to found the lodges at Grahamsville, Derry West, and Orangedale, would be gathered for this first meeting.

John was sorry young Henry Rutledge had not got over from Streetsville, but that village was miles away in the midst of a virgin forest, the other side of the Centre road which, in most places, was still merely a line of blazes through unbroken bush. John had hardly hoped the Streetsville contingent would get through. Perhaps Henry would soon be able, with the help of James Graham and some of the Switzers, to start a lodge of his own. Another prospective member, cousin William, with his nine-year-old son John, would be coming out soon.

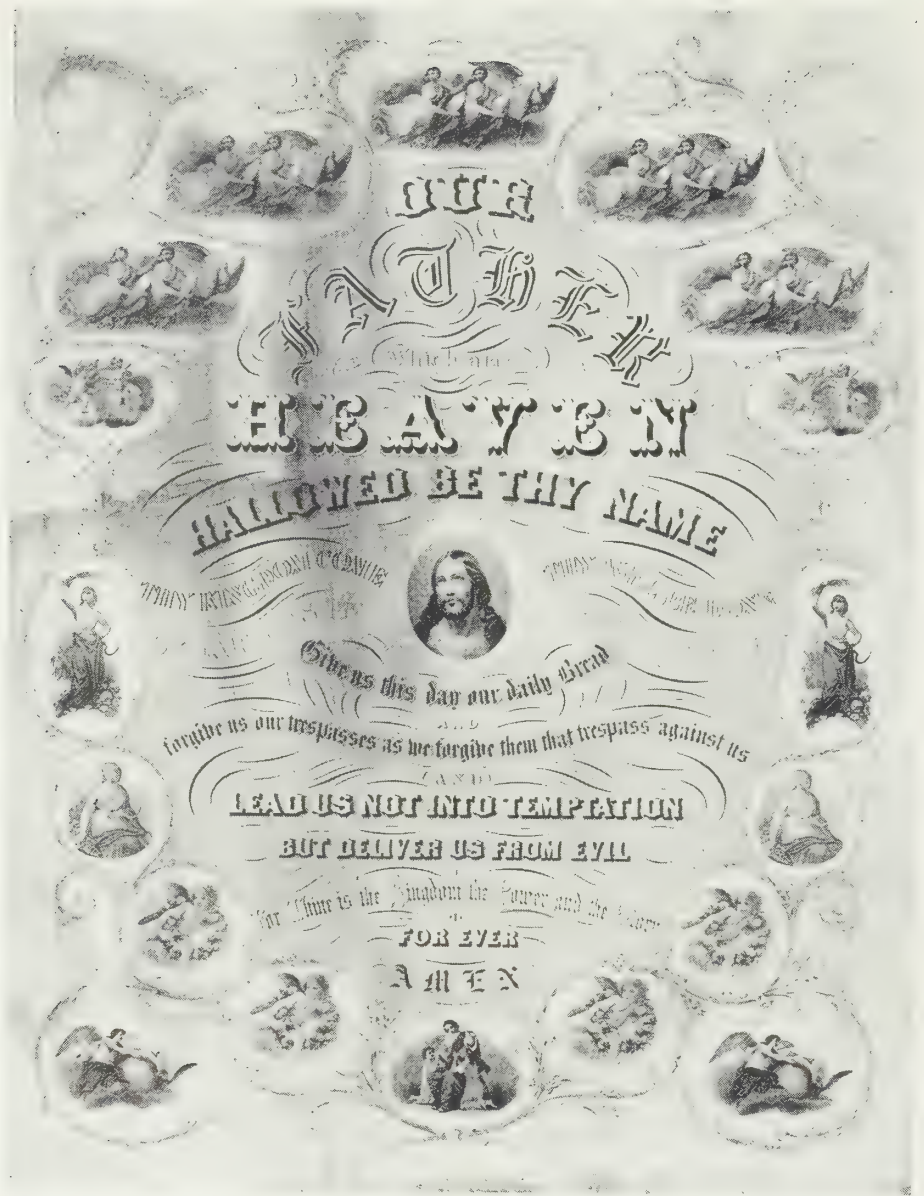
John's visitors made themselves fairly comfortable around the fire-place, on benches, stools, or heavy planks supported by kegs. Pipes would be produced, and heavy smoke of strong Canadian tobacco would soon fill the room. The host would call the meeting to order and conduct what seemed suitable opening ceremonies. There would be a prayer, which John, as a Methodist class-leader, could offer

The KING and
Loyal Orange
Constitution.
G. R.
Association
Of the City of ARMAGH. No. 109

WE, the MASTER, DEPUTY-MASTER, and SECRETARY
of the LOYAL ORANGE ASSOCIATION, Number 109,
held in the City of Armagh
do hereby certify, that Brother *John Jones*
has regularly received the *First and Second* Degree, of a
TRUE ORANGE-MAN, in this our ASSOCIATION; and
that he has conducted himself, during his stay amongst us,
to the entire satisfaction of all our Brethren.—We therefore
request, that all the regular Associations of the Universe
do recognize and admit him as such.

Given under our Hands and Seal of our Society,
at Armagh this 9th Day of October 1808

Thomas Jackson Master.
Andrew Neil Deputy-Master.
Wm. C. Clerk Secretary.



ORANGEMAN'S PARLOUR PICTURE

with great unction. Thereafter he would doubtless read a portion from the Bible, and the Orangeman's Qualifications. This being the first meeting, there would be no minutes to correct, no expulsions to report, no dues to collect, no unfinished business to complete, no new members to initiate. In answer to a question whether there were any Orangemen in the district whose families were in need of assistance, two or three names might be mentioned and a committee appointed to investigate.

However, when it was moved and seconded that the Orangemen there assembled should constitute themselves the original members of Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1 and elect officers, John objected on two grounds. In the first place they had no warrant. In the second, they could not call themselves L.O.L. No. 1, because there were already several unrecognized lodges in other parts of the country. Why, nearly ten years earlier, during the War of 1812, the invaders from the United States had noticed that Orangemen formed the backbone of the defence against them, and had spoken very bitterly about it. One of fourteen Canadian prisoners had confessed his complicity in capturing twenty-three United States troops, and a writer in the *Albany Argus*, commenting on the incident, remarked:

"With this fellow it will go hard and I hope a more rigorous course will be pursued with the inhabitants who are opposed to our course. This class are principally Scots and Orangemen, and many of them obtain all the information they can and forward it to the enemy [Britain]."

Certainly he and his friends could not set themselves up as rivals of those senior Canadian Orangemen who had already sealed their covenant with their own blood. No, for the time being, thought John, he and his brethren should be satisfied with unofficial status and content themselves with serving the Orange cause whenever and wherever opportunity presented itself. Then, if the time came when a Grand Lodge could be formed, they might apply for proper recognition.

John's suggestion was overruled. A tattered old warrant brought out from Ireland, some say by Thomas Graham, was offered as charter of the new lodge. It was accepted. The lodge declared itself to be in existence, and officers were duly elected. John, despite his strenuous protests, was elected master.

By this time, perhaps, the brethren were ready for refreshments. There would be biscuits and home-made cheese, and plenty of good Canadian whisky. The solemnity of the gathering would be utterly shattered for several minutes while food and drink were passed. There would be a general hubbub of confused conversation, the main theme being the impossibility of continuing to inhabit the earth another year without celebrating the coming 12th July by a procession in full regalia.

Soon the proposed parade would come to occupy the exclusive attention of the members, and John would have to call the meeting to order again and ask for an expression of opinion. Since no true Orangeman would turn down such a proposal, and since the 12th July was scarcely two months away, a program would have to be drawn up then and there. Plans would be made to cajole the women into creating the necessary regalia, and a committee appointed to interview other settlers throughout the district with a view to mobilizing its entire Orange resources.

The pail of whisky would be produced once more and the dipper passed from hand to hand. Then the meeting would break up and twenty-odd Orangemen wend their way homeward through the sweet-scented night. Here and there a yoke of oxen would be claimed by its owner, but most of the visitors would trudge back wearily, by narrow path, blazed trail, and chopped road-allowance, over stream and through cedar swamp—two, five, and even ten miles. Soon silence descended once more on John's little domain, but a new silence, pregnant with life and hope. John went back into the tavern, kicked the logs together, and banked ashes over them. Above, as the fire-light was quenched, the Orangeman's Qualifications were lost in the shadows, but the shadows were temporary, while Orangemen's vows were to prove a permanent force, here as on the old sod.

Whether or not John's lodge succeeded in arranging parades in the first and second years of its existence, history does not record. If so, they must have been simple, local affairs, dining, perhaps, at Graham's tavern. The first grand, joint parade yet discovered to have taken place in the Home District was in 1822. In this John Rutledge and his friends certainly participated.

John's lodge was, of course, as yet unrecognized by the higher authorities of the Association. By 1822 there seem to have been, in the future County of Peel, at least two lodges that had come into existence in this way. There may have been three, one at Streetsville, one at Grahamsville, and one somewhere in between. It is possible that there were others of which no trace or tradition remains. In muddy York also, by 1822, the Orangemen had unquestionably been organized, however informally, for several years.

It is quite likely that each of these lodges had a warrant of some kind. In the twenties and thereafter, according to Chetwoode Eustace Chetwoode, warrants were, to all intents and purposes, the personal property of masters to whom they were issued.

"A master holding a warrant, although he resided in Manchester when he got it, if he came to Middlesex and found five members to act in . . . offices, could hold a meeting."

In short, the man to whom a warrant was issued could use it anywhere to establish a lodge and enroll members.

Furthermore, duplicate warrants were common. It was by means of these that Orangeism was established in England and Scotland in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Marching warrants were secured in Ireland by English and Scottish regiments. These military lodges, on their return, issued numerous duplicates for the use of civilians in their home neighbourhoods, and thus the good work was multiplied.

If this was the way things worked out in the Mother Land, where independent warrants could not have been difficult to obtain, how much oftener must it have happened in Canada! A number of regiments stationed in Canada just prior to and during the War of 1812 are definitely known to have had Orange lodges, and there is a strong presumption in the case of others which had been stationed in Ireland during the height of Orange enthusiasm. Many of their members felt sufficiently at home in Canada to settle there after discharge. It is reasonable to suppose that they gave active aid in civilian Orange organization. Indeed, as late as 1835, after a Grand Lodge had been established right here in British America, Robert Inglis, Master of L.O.L. No. 33, 24th Regiment of Foot, stationed in Montreal, wrote to the Grand Lodge of Great Britain regarding a duplicate he had

issued to some civilian brethren.

The gentleman who, at the first meeting of John Rutledge's lodge, volunteered to furnish a charter, probably produced a somewhat dog-eared duplicate or traveller's warrant of the kind described. Doubtless, others were in use in the Home District about the same time. When new warrants were issued through the Grand Lodge of British America, however, the documentary treasures of Upper Canada's first Orangemen were turned in or discarded as so much waste paper. Any that once existed in Toronto township and its neighbourhood have completely vanished from the face of the earth.

There is extant in Toronto, in the possession of Nassau L.O.L. No. 4, an Orange certificate of about this period. It, too, may have had great significance in the days of Orange documentary poverty. It is a transfer certificate, issued in County Armagh on 24th April, 1819, and is not to be confused with a warrant. Nevertheless, it must, in its time, have encouraged its owner to go forward boldly with his Orange activities in this new and as yet unorganized territory, just as John Rutledge's copy of the Orangeman's Qualifications inspired him. Furthermore, its wording is an indication of the fact that Orangeism was already recognized to be solidly established in the western hemisphere. This certificate reads as follows:

"Royal Orange Association. King and Constitution we will maintain, New system No. 388. 'And God said, Let there be Light, and there was Light' . . . 'And the Light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not.'

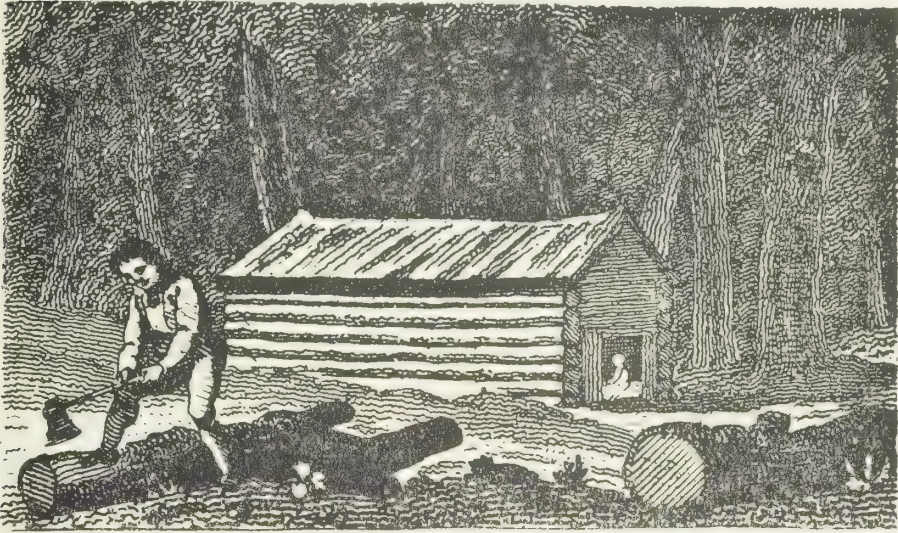
"Now, we, the master, deputy master, etc., etc., do strictly charge you to withdraw yourself from brethren that walk disorderly. We, the master and deputy master of No. 388 of True Orangemen, do certify that Brother Thomas Joyce is Dep. master of the said Association, and has received the Orange and Arch Purple Marksman, and hath by us been duly initiated into the secrets and mysteries of said Arts, annexed to the colors hereunto affixed, having with amazing skill and fortitude withstood the various trials attending his admission. We, therefore, recommend him as a true and worthy brother, to all the fraternity on the face of the two hemispheres, he having paid all lodge dues up to this day.

"Given under our hands and seal of our lodge, in our lodge room, in the County of Armagh, and Kingdom of Ireland.

"Dated this 24th day of April, 1819.

"Robert Craig, Master; Thomas Joyce, D. Master; John Montgomery, Secretary; James Purdy, Treasurer."

Although its colour has now faded a great deal and much of its original glory has departed, this solemn and virtuous exhortation must have looked very beautiful to the lonely Orangemen of the Home District in 1822. The text was surrounded by a decorative border of symbols illustrating scriptural texts and the history of the Orange Order. The "colours hereunto affixed" were three bright strips of ribbon—orange, blue, and scarlet. Altogether an inspiring sight, and quite possibly the only "warrant" required by the first lodge in what is now Toronto.



From an old Public School reader

LIFE IN THE BUSH

As pictured by an artist of the eighties.

In the spring of 1822, the York lodge must have issued invitations to all Orangemen of the district to join its members in celebrating the coming 12th July. This would be welcome news to John Rutledge, whose chief ambition in life, next to establishing a home for his family, was to see the Orange Association become as powerful an instrument for the good of his new country as it had been for that of his old. A district parade looked like a step in the right direction. If it resulted, as he earnestly hoped it would, in the organization of a Grand Lodge similar to that formed at Portadown, the Order might yet become a power in this new land.

Bright and early on the day before the celebration, the

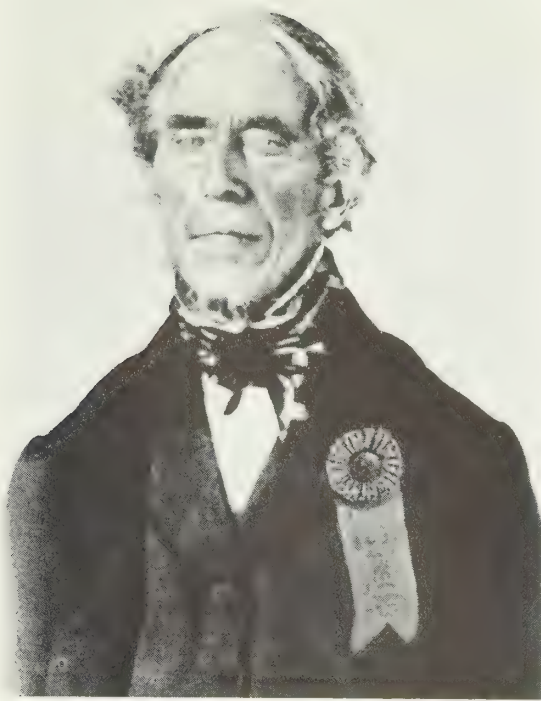
Orangemen of West York gathered for their expedition to the capital. For several days the women had been busily engaged in the manufacture of regalia, and the floor of the Graham tavern was now piled high with the fruits of their industry. Ribbons, badges, sashes, buttons, bits of tinsel, and decorative gadgets of all kinds, were included in the heterogeneous pile. It had been hoped that there would be an ornament of some kind for each member of the contingent. Hope was outstripped. There were more than enough. It was a resplendent *cortège* that finally lined up before the door.

Everyone knows that going from Grahamsville to York in 1822 was not a matter of a half hour's drive in a swift motor over smooth highways, but few realize the extent of the difficulties that these ardent Orangemen actually encountered. Fortunately, the *Petition of the Inhabitants of the Sixth Concession in the new Survey of the Township of Toronto* gives a very definite and detailed description of the actual road they must have traversed. The township line was opened as far south as lot 1, concession 6 east, Toronto township, but apparently that meant only that the road allowance was cleared of brush and the trees chopped to three-foot stumps. A horse or an ox-drag could wind its way among them, but great care had to be used, and walking was really safer. At the end of this road allowance, began even worse trouble. The only way of getting through to Dundas street, and hence into the capital, was along,

"A Bye road for the Distance of about four miles that is to Say from Lot No. 1 in the Sixth Concession of the Township of Toronto in the New Survey to Mr. Wilcoxes Tavern on Dundas Street on which road there will not nor has not been any Statue Labour done on account of its Being not an allowed road but only A Kind of path way forced by the Inhabitants to their places of Residence, and it is now in such A Bad State for want of repairs that is next to Impossible to Travel upon it . . . "

The petition is signed by John Rutledge and others. It is dated 8th April, and may have been submitted with a view to securing some improvement before the forthcoming expedition to York. Alas, it was subject to the usual legal delays, and on 19th July it still awaited the report of the Surveyor General before it could be considered.

Thus, in the magnificent cavalcade that set out for



Courtesy Wm. Rutledge

JOHN RUTLEDGE



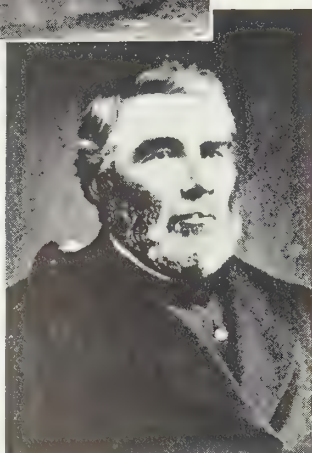
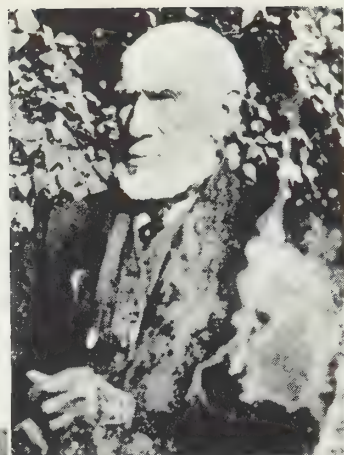
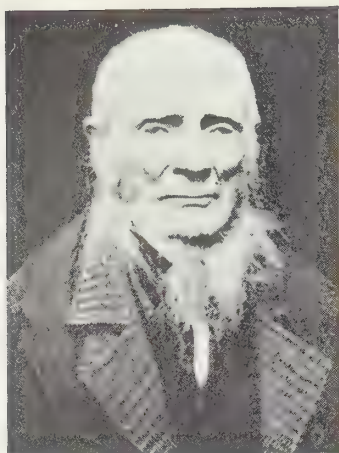
Courtesy Mrs. Florence Bull Gibson

GEORGE RUTLEDGE



Courtesy The *Daily Star*, Toronto

WILLIAM RUTLEDGE

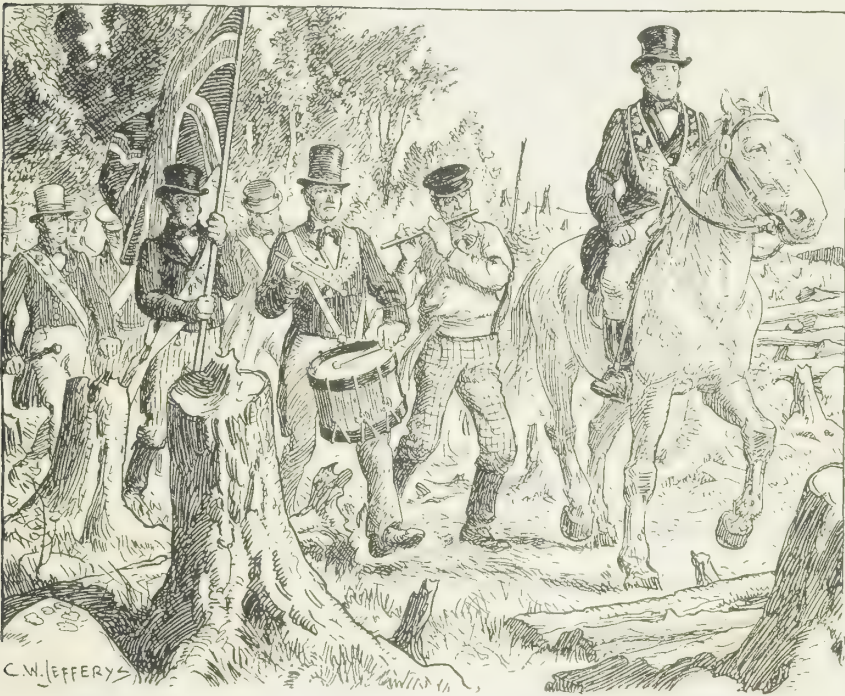


Courtesy Mrs. Florence Bull Gibson

BRODDYTOWN

Top row: Jas. Broddy, Wm. Nixon; middle row: Margaret Nixon (Mrs. Wm. Broddy), Elizabeth Broddy (Mrs. Alex. Nixon), Hannah J. Jewett (Mrs. John Morrison); bottom row: Wm. Broddy (Big William), Catherine Nixon (Mrs. Geo. Rutledge).

York, there might be a few mounted men, but most of the lodge members would necessarily be on foot. Attendance at an Orange rally was a real sacrifice in those days when the lack of machinery made farm work slow at best and an extra two days were required to go and come back. Nevertheless, Grahamsville and Derry West sent a goodly representation to York in 1822.



Specially drawn for Perkins Bull Historical Series C. W. JEFFERYS, R.C.A., O.S.A., LL.D.

FIRST ORANGE WALK, GRAHAMSVILLE TO YORK

At the head of the procession, on a white horse, if any could be found by hook or by crook in the neighbourhood, would ride Worshipful Master John Rutledge, dressed in the frock-coat and silk hat his father had given him when he left Ireland. There was no proper banner. John Ballantyne, Peel's pre-eminent Orange artist, had not yet seen the light of day. Moreover the pioneers lacked time and energy for such work. Those were the first days of struggle with the bush—days of back-breaking toil and heart-breaking penury for almost everyone. There was little to spare for adornment. Still, there were plenty of blue and orange ribbons, rosettes, and cockades, and scarlet silk sashes and scarves lent

a touch of almost regal splendour. All in all, the procession was "a thing of beauty" and "a joy for ever", especially when it marched off in spirited style, encouraged by spasmodic outbursts on the part of the band, which consisted of one fifer and one drummer.

When they reached York, all was in readiness for the next day's festivities. In key positions stood arches of evergreens, decorated with mottoes and with long, ribbon-like, carpentry shavings, dyed orange and purple. Processions made it a point to pass under each of these arches, removing all head-gear as they did so. Many of the houses, too, were decorated with flags and bunting. John led his troops to a tavern in the shadow of the most impressive arch—it was Phair's—and dismounted. The journey had made his followers more than ordinarily thirsty, and it was unnecessary to dismiss them. In less than a minute they were at the bar toasting their Streetsville brethren, who had come in by way of the west bank of the Credit and by Dundas street, and had arrived a little before them.

Before dawn next day, the city was stirring. Gradually, out-of-town Orangemen who had spent the night with friends gathered at taverns to refresh themselves in readiness for the parade. Drums were beaten, bells were rung, fifes screeched, and gaping spectators began to fill the muddy streets. The air was shaken by the sounds of a great commotion. John was amazed at the number of Orangemen he saw. He must have had a proud realization that the Association was already becoming a power in this new land. Somehow, too, he must have felt that, in a small way, he had helped to make it so.

That was a grand day. There would be a little drinking. There would be a few fights. There might well be solemn conclave with brethren in York for the discussion of Orange problems. Most important of all would be the parade around the town, and the banquet afterwards in the tavern, where they ate a terrific and noisy meal for which they paid a York shilling apiece.

Presumably they accompanied the York Orangemen to hear the "elegant and appropriate discourse" by the Rev. Dr. Strachan, who was so often to preach to them in succeeding years. The fact that the band of the West York

(Peel) militia accompanied the town contingent confirms this theory. In that case, the visitors doubtless returned with their hosts, who mustered a hundred or more, to sup at Phair's tavern. There was, apparently, no roistering, however. Indeed, the behaviour of the visitors seems to have been most exemplary, as evidenced by an extract from the *York Weekly Register* of 18th July, 1822, quoted by the *Orange Sentinel*:

"On Monday the 12th instant, a very numerous and respectable body of Orangemen amounting to several hundred entered York in procession to celebrate their annual festivities, which was done in a manner highly creditable to themselves and which gave offence to no-one."

John Rutledge must have been well pleased with what he saw that day. The Orange Association had taken firm root in his new land and, although it would no doubt have to cope with a good deal of opposition, was plainly strong enough to hold its own.



CHAPTER III

THE TURBULENT TWENTIES

*Oh! weep for the hour, when the iron hand of power
Was laid upon our grand association, O;
When Goulburn's vile bill broke us up against our will,
Preventing our dictating to the nation, O.*

—AN APPRENTICE BOY OF DERRY

AFTER this first big celebration in York, it looked as though the Orange Order in Upper Canada were destined to move onward, unchecked, "from glory unto glory". John Rutledge congratulated himself more than ever on his wisdom in coming to this "brave new world". If there were any Roman Catholics in Toronto township, he thought, they could gnash their teeth in silence. But his complacence was destined to be shortlived. By 1823 the tide of opposition, which, in 1825, was temporarily to overwhelm the Order in Ireland, was making its power felt in Canada also. The *Weekly Register* of 27th February, 1823, was late in reaching the country districts because of bad roads, but when it finally arrived, it brought reverberations of the Roman Catholics' first big gun. On the 19th the Legislative Assembly had heard a petition, couched in the most vindictive phraseology, "against Orange Societies and all other party distinctions".

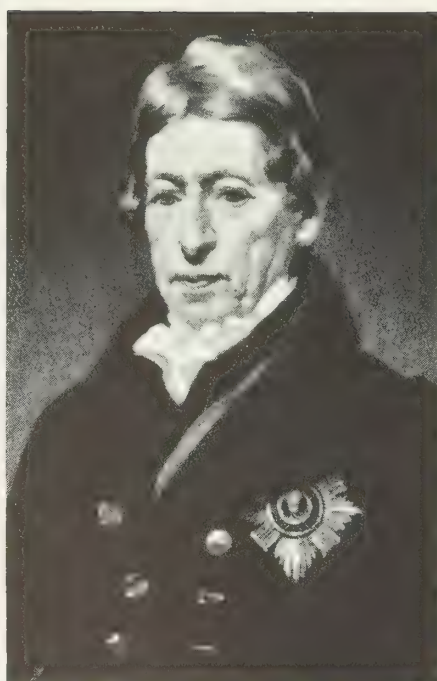
According to the sponsors of this petition, as quoted in a letter of 10th April, "the unthinking and inexperienced youth" of Ireland were early stirred by the "malignant poison of party spirit", to commit excesses. The implication was that the Orangemen were at fault. This was an obvious absurdity, as the correspondent pointed out, since an Orangeman swore fidelity to king and country "and even to protect a Catholic". It was the latter, averred this champion of Orangeism, who were taught from infancy "to persecute, and to hate those of all other religious persuasions under the broad and general title of *Heretics*", and it was they who were in every case "the first aggressors".

In the same spring the "Orange Clubs Bill" came before the legislature. It was introduced, as the good Orangemen of Grahamsville and Derry West were sorry to observe, by one of the two members for their own riding. The other,



Courtesy Thos. Woods & David Catt

ERNEST AUGUSTUS, DUKE OF
CUMBERLAND



Courtesy British Museum

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GORDON,
F.R.S., &c.



WHERE THE ORANGE ORDER BEGAN

Dan Winter's house, destroyed at the Battle of the Diamond, 1795, & rebuilt.



Courtesy Mrs. Annie J. Ferguson-Burke

prudently perhaps, missed all three readings. Discussion of the measure grew very heated, although, according to Mackenzie, its sponsor, Dr. William Warren Baldwin, later "denied having called the Orange party 'the scum of Society'". It is rather ironical, a scant decade before the Rebellion of 1837, to find this well-known Reformer planning "an Act for the better preserving the Peace" by outlawing the very group that was eventually to defend the country against his own party. Fortunately, the bill was rejected, though by the narrowest of all possible margins, the casting vote of the Speaker.

The unfriendliness of the authorities could not overawe Orangemen. They conducted their annual parade in 1823 with even greater splendour than in 1822. The rural cohorts once more joined the celebrations in the capital, attending church in a body at two o'clock to hear "a most excellent, edifying, and instructive Sermon" by Doctor Strachan, followed by "an elegant dinner" in Mr. Phair's "accustomed good stile" where "the utmost decorum and conviviality prevailed". There were toasts to King George IV and to the memory of his predecessor; to the Duke of York and the Army, the Duke of Clarence and the Navy, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Honourable and Reverend Doctor Strachan, the Militia of Upper Canada. Cheers or commemorative silence followed each toast, and musical numbers were provided, such as *Rule Britannia* or *British Grenadiers*, with an "anthem" for Doctor Strachan.

In reporting the affair, the editor of the *Weekly Register* could not help pointing out how the reality differed from the recent petitioners' hostile description:

"The peaceable and inoffensive manner in which the 12th . . . was celebrated in York—Nothing like disturbance, riot, outrage, or breach of the peace occurred; unless a body of from 3 to 400 persons going in procession to Church . . . and, afterwards dining together . . . can be considered disturbance, riot, and outrage."

Modesty and sobriety were no defence against prejudice, and at the beginning of 1824 the Roman Catholics petitioned as bitterly as ever for the prohibition of Orange parades. The Legislature preferred to take no action but expressed the conviction:

"That there is neither necessity nor propriety in continuing in this

country those Political Associations, which all their fellow subjects desire to see abolished, and that in the meantime the others, conscious that they share every privilege of subjects, will learn to treat such associations with silent disregard."

The tone of this resolution was so friendly to the petitioners that Orangemen began to manifest alarm, and the editor of the *Weekly Register* came once more to their defence. Why, he asked, should Orangemen be prevented from assembling peaceably? Such a prohibition would be a dangerous interference with the constitutional rights of British subjects merely for the sake of pandering to the whims of "a few individuals". Surely the laws were "adequate to the suppressing of *any tumult*—whether *orange, blue, yellow, green or red*"; while, of course, if there was no tumult there was nothing which could justly or even prudently be suppressed.

In the same year the rights of Orangemen were vindicated even more specifically in New York. Charges of assault and battery had been laid against "four Irishmen and one woman", and in pronouncing judgment the magistrate in charge of the case had declared that in the United States "the Orangemen were at perfect liberty to commemorate any festivals of public events". If there, how much more under the British flag which they had so often defended!

The lodges of the Home District must have walked with fresh courage at their next parade in York. It was all nonsense to talk of their marches as a menace, or even as a harmless amusement. Orangemen knew what they knew. Some of the very legislators who now talked with such glib indifference might, in the end, find the Order their only bulwark against a rising tide of treason and lawlessness. John Rutledge and his fellows could see it coming and were content to bide their time.

While the Orangemen of the New World were thus standing their ground nobly, things were going less well for their brethren at home. Daniel O'Connell, the Roman Catholics' new leader, was a clever politician, a stubborn fighter, and a persuasive orator. In 1823 he organized a so-called Catholic Association, which set itself up as a sort of secret parliament, and which, by 1824, had grown dangerously strong. As a result, Ireland was a seething ferment. More houses are said to have been burnt by Catholics in the

early summer of 1823 than during the rebellion of 1798. In retaliation the "Orange Faction" is supposed to have thrown a glass bottle at the Lord Lieutenant's theatre box, also an immense wedge of wood, with "loud cries" of "*No Popery! No Popish Governor*", "*A groan for the Marquess Wellesley*", and "*The Boyne Water*".



OWEN STAPLES, O.S.A.

HENRY GOULBURN

The inevitable result came in 1825. Henry Goulburn, Chief Secretary to the much maligned Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, carried through Parliament the Unlawful Societies Act, intended to suppress any "unlawful combination and Confederacy"—for instance, any society "from which Persons of any Form of Religious Faith allowed or tolerated by law shall be excluded", or the members of which were bound by oath. This was a mortal blow both to Orange Order and to "Catholic Association", but whereas the former bowed to the dictates of authority the latter gave vigorous proof of its rebellious instincts. O'Connell denounced the Act, with all the wild rhetoric at his command. It was a monstrous interference with the liberty of private individuals. It was Algerine—the sort of outrageous legislation you would expect from Algerian pirates. Moreover, it was so full of holes that he could drive a coach and six through it. This he proceeded to do, by forming a new and technically legal association. The Orangemen had to follow his example or surrender supinely to Roman Catholic domination. An act which had enough holes to accommodate a double coach and six naturally could not last. It expired in 1828, and was not re-enacted.

The Algerine Act provided a touchstone for men's determination. Would they give up Orangeism because a blinded government had made the Orange Association illegal? Too many members, with an eye on peace or on power, were willing to do so. They contented themselves with the vaguely organized Brunswick Clubs, unrestricted in membership and without passwords. For these clubs the

Marquis of Chandos, the Duke of Gordon, and the Earl of Longford provided aristocratic leadership. But the hardier spirits were not content with such half-way measures, and they clung to the old Orange name. On 13th December, 1825, some of these Irish Orangemen organized the Benevolent and Loyal Orange Institution, which carried on openly the principles and work once secretly cherished by the Orange Association. The new Society endured only for the three years' operation of the Algerine Act, but its historical importance is out of all proportion to its length of life, particularly for Canada, since it gave the father of Canadian Orangeism his first experience in large-scale organization.

The Assistant Grand Secretary of the Benevolent and Loyal Orange Institution was Ogle Robert Gowan, then in his early twenties. As a lad in his teens, Ogle R. had been initiated into the Orange Order proper near his home in County Wexford.

Both his father and his godfather were prominent Orange officials. The father, Captain John Hunter Gowan, was a magistrate and his great-grand-daughter tells of his owning ten valuable estates in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow. Naturally he was a target for Roman Catholic attacks, one of which describes,

"Hunter Gowan, a Protestant landlord, riding into Gorey at the head of his yeomanry, with the finger of a dead peasant spiked on the tip of his sword, and using it later in the public house to stir the punch for the officers' mess."

If the gentleman in question ever did anything of the sort, he was perhaps justified by his personal experiences. On 'Bloody Friday' (1798) Nebo Lodge, the ancestral home of the Gowans at Gorey, was razed by rebels, and the loyal members of the family endured countless sufferings and losses during this rebellion.

Captain Gowan was seriously wounded in 1816 while capturing Captain Grant, a brigand chieftain, whose ghost to this day is supposed to walk in Wexford. The Orange leader is said to have declined knighthood as he preferred not to accept any reward for serving his king.

Ogle R.'s sponsor in baptism was Honourable George M. Ogle, P.C., registrar of deeds for Ireland and Scotland,

subsequently M.P. for Dublin, and a Grand Master of the Orange Institution. Ogle R. was also a protégé of Sir Harcourt Lees, one of the principals of the new Benevolent Institution.

The young man seems personally to have been prosperous enough, for he contributed five pounds towards the establishment of the Benevolent Institution—no mean gift, when such wealthy noblemen as Gordon and Aldborough donated only twice as much. He was also the possessor of strong feelings, natural executive ability, and great personal charm. Above all, young Gowan had been brought up in the most devoted Orange loyalty, which was to stand him in good stead through a life of constant pressure from foes and friends alike.

While Gowan was serving his Orange apprenticeship at home, John Rutledge and his fellow Orangemen were pursuing energetically their own legal battles in defence of pioneer Orangeism in Upper Canada. Their enemies continued to press for some Canadian measure to correspond with the Algerine Act, and they had strong leadership. Among the prominent agitators was William Bergin, whose house in York is said to have been a Roman Catholic rallying-place, where mass was celebrated prior to the building of Saint Paul's on Power street in 1824. This able agitator seems to have sponsored the Roman Catholic petitions of 1823 and 1824, and he continued in charge during 1825 and 1826. Evidently he believed that he was performing a public service, for he subsequently petitioned, although unsuccessfully, for a grant of land to reimburse his loss of time and money in seeking to prevent Orange processions during the years 1823-1826. Failing in this, he seems to have purchased land in Albion, for a certain William Bergin bought half of lot 18, concession 5, a few months after the rejection of the petition. This is only one of several properties held in this name in the thirties.

The Canadian Orange lodges, which were the object of Bergin's bitter attack, were still devoid of any provincial administrative machinery for co-operation in attack or defence. They were not even well organized locally and the temporary suspension of the Association in Ireland, under which any Canadian units were supposed to operate, de-

prived them of their natural source of inspiration and guidance.

In default of any central organization local progress too was slow. In 1826 Alexander Matheson of Perth wrote to the Grand Lodge of Great Britain:

"That many thousands of Orangemen at present in the Canadas, are without any regular lodge; the benefit that would result from a regular system to those provinces and to the rising generation would be incalculable."

This letter was read at the Grand Lodge of Great Britain on 8th January, 1827. At the same meeting Sir Harcourt Lees, of the Benevolent and Loyal Orange Institution in Ireland, strongly recommended "the object of Brother Montgomery West's Mission, relative to the organization of the Orange System in the Canadas". The Grand Lodge of Great Britain recognized West's services by appointing him Deputy Grand Master.

It was natural that British Orangemen should try to aid their Canadian brethren during the suspension of Irish Grand Lodge activities but the result was considerable confusion. Their missionary work was done chiefly through travelling warrants, and masters holding these were on the move so that it was difficult to keep in close touch with them. Thus they continued their work long after the need for it had ceased and often encroached on the purlieus of others.

The confusion seems to have been increased by some sort of vague authority under which two Irish Canadians had been given permission to issue independent warrants—probably just before the impending dissolution of the Order in 1825 when its continuance in Canada might seem contingent upon such a measure. Davin gives the story of this affair somewhat as follows. Arthur Hopper, a former Deputy Master of County Tipperary, became master of a Montreal lodge started by William Burton under a warrant specially procured in Ireland. Hopper received,

"The additional power of granting warrants to subordinate lodges, given under the Great Seal of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, of which the Earl of Enniskillen was the Grand Master. The first warrant ever granted to a subordinate lodge in British America was granted to Mr. Robert Birch, of Richmond, under the hand and seal of Mr. Arthur Hopper, as Grand Master, and Mr. William Burton as Deputy-Grand Master."

The low number of its warrant suggests that Royal Orange Lodge No. 8 of Thorold, which, through the columns of the *Colonial Advocate*, announced a celebration for 12th July, 1828, had received its warrant from the Hopper lodge. In 1832 a lodge which was in operation as the Grand Lodge of Montreal, No. 1637, was then carrying on a vigorous dispute with a British regimental lodge as to jurisdiction. This may have been a survival of the old, now superseded authority.

Such oddities did not weigh heavily on the mind of John Rutledge. He was concerned not with abstractions regarding warrants and jurisdiction but with concrete achievements.

"What do papers matter?" he would ask in his dry, matter-of-fact way. "I've never got the patent of my homestead registered, but that doesn't keep me from cutting down the trees and raising crops, does it? It's getting the land clear that matters, not the name you do it under."

It must be admitted that John's thoughts at this moment were more on the clearing of his land than on the expansion of the Orange Order. In 1826 Thomas Graham had returned from New York and there had been a resurgence of life in the Grahamsville community. It is possible that Thomas paid a visit to Ireland before his return to Upper Canada, as there is a story that it was he who brought Jane Rutledge out to her parents about this time. If he did not actually revisit the old sod, he must have been in correspondence with would-be emigrants there, for the date of his reappearance in Toronto township marks a new influx of Irish settlers, prominent among them the Neelandses with whom the history of John Rutledge's family was soon to be more closely intertwined.

Jane Rutledge must have been wild with delight at joining her brother and sisters, especially the two younger children who had been born in New York and whose acquaintance she now made for the first time. She had been living with her paternal grandparents, and had apparently grown very unhappy. According to one account, her grandmother had died, old Mr. Rutledge had married a second time, and the child got along badly with the new mistress of the cottage at Irvinestown. One branch of the family says that she came to Canada with the Tilts, but as they set out

from County Armagh in the summer of 1822, this seems both early and inconvenient. Another account says that she came alone, but this too seems unlikely when there were so many emigrants under whose protection she could have travelled. All in all, the Graham story seems the most reasonable.

At the same time came more Rutledges from Enniskillen—William Stubbs and his wife, Jennie, daughter of Robert Rutledge, together with Jennie's cousin, Jane, daughter of William. The latter seems to have been master of L.O.L. No. 640, Coolrick, Enniskillen, for William Stubbs's transfer certificate bears the name of his uncle by marriage. Very soon afterwards William Rutledge and his family joined their relatives in Caledon.

Also included in this second Graham party were the Irvins, one of whom had married a Graham. Mary Irvin, a child of this marriage, was the mother of James Graham Alexander, V.S., of L.O.L. No. 63, Mono Road.

Charles and William Irvine, two additional 1826 emigrants from the banks of Lough Erne, were sons of an army officer who had been killed when they were infants. They had been sent to England to learn trades, since their mother was too poor to purchase them commissions. The brothers came only as far as New York on this first lap of their journey. Perhaps William, a cabinet-maker, took over the Graham business in New York which Thomas seems to have returned to wind up. At any rate, these Enniskilleners, like their predecessors, soon became dissatisfied with life in the United States. Ere long they followed the now well-marked trail to Peel and settled at Mount Charles.

The return of Thomas Graham may have been a factor in John Rutledge's decision to move to his own property on lot 13, concession 1 east. Naturally when he ceased to deputize for his friend in shop, tavern, and what-not, the ties which bound him to Grahamsville would be loosened.

Besides, the growing Broddytown community housed more old friends than he could find anywhere else within a week's journey. In 1823 Alexander Broddy had bought twenty acres on the west half of lot 15, concession 2, presumably for a blacksmith shop, and the Broddys, Nixons, Cheynes and other families were comfortably ensconced on

their own farm-steads in its immediate environs. As soon as young George should be old enough to help clear a really substantial acreage, John decided, they would move. Some time in the next few years he closed out his interests at Grahamsville and took his household gods across to the first line.

No one can now tell at what time of year Thomas Graham came back to Upper Canada, but so ardent an Orangeman would doubtless arrive, if possible, in time to celebrate the 12th with his old friends. Though no contemporary newspaper accounts of parades in 1825 and 1826 are available, they undoubtedly took place. It was a point of honour with the Orangemen of those days to turn out in full strength on the 12th, even if rain made the pioneer roads more suggestive of man-traps than of parade grounds. Furthermore, proper discipline was enforced upon any who were rash enough to attempt interference, even if thereby Orangemen might themselves become involved in serious difficulties.

Such was the case in 1827. Early in this year the Lieutenant-Governor, speaking in Peterborough, had urged all Irish settlers to drop "associations which have their rise in a difference of Religion, *or in differences of any kind*", and thereafter to consider themselves one people. Because of His Excellency's attitude or for some other reason, Kingston magistrates warned Orangemen of that vicinity not to "walk" as usual. Finding that they intended to defy this warning, the High Constable showed, according to contemporary newspapers, "a well intended but ill-timed zeal". He collected other constables and three soldiers of the 68th Regiment, with which escort he accompanied the Orange parade to maintain order. As he thus gave the parade "the appearance of being patronised by both the civil and military authorities", he caused much bad feeling, which may have helped precipitate trouble. Several casualties occurred and troops had to be drawn up in the market square before the tumult abated. The Orangemen were subsequently acquitted of any breach of the peace, but Orange leaders were as distressed as the better class of their opponents over the disturbance.

Elsewhere there was less trouble. Earlier in the year, two hundred loyal Orangemen of the Bathurst District had

shared with the 'True Britons' Masonic Lodge, magistrates, clergy, half-pay officers, and other gentlemen, in a grand funeral march following the "melancholy demise of His Royal Highness the Duke of York". In the Home District also the Order was strong and had its friends among those in authority, however distressingly its representatives might behave in connection with legislation "to put down Orange lodges".

Whatever the attitude of their opponents, Orangemen themselves insisted on justice and fair play for all. In 1828, when a Roman Catholic named Nowlan was murdered by a man thought to be a Protestant, six of the twelve jurymen who had tried Nowlan's murderer were Orangemen, yet he was found guilty and hanged.

In this same year the expiry of the Algerine Act was encouraging news, although in Ireland itself the immediate result was not as happy as might be expected. The return of weaklings who had held aloof for three years tended, per-



haps, to unsettle and dilute the single-minded purposefulness of their bolder comrades. Among these was Gowan. During three years of Grand Lodge work this ardent young man had

often lost patience with his quiescent brethren. It seemed to him that the Roman Catholics were growing in strength and the Emancipation Act of 1829 was soon to prove him right. Apparently he had serious doubts as to the future of the Order if some drastic steps were not taken to produce a stirring among the dry bones.

With such thoughts stirring in him, Gowan turned his mind to Canada, whither during the past decade and a half so many Orangemen had been forced to emigrate. Might not the rejuvenation of the Order come, he wondered, in the form of a breeze from the west? Might not the Orange Order become, eventually, an Empire-wide institution? Would it not *have* to become this, indeed, before it could ever reach the apotheosis of which he dreamed? His work in the Benevolent and Loyal Orange Institution may have brought him in touch with Orangemen at work in the Canadas under Irish warrants—perhaps with Hopper and Burton themselves—and certainly he must have heard of their activities. He may have been at the Grand Lodge meeting in London when Alexander Matheson's letter was read; if not, Sir Harcourt Lees doubtless mentioned to his young friend this appeal from the west. The foundation was laid, and Gowan was a man of sufficient vision to realize the structure that might be raised upon it.

To think was, with Gowan, to act. He did not remain in Ireland to endure the next seven or eight years of discouragement and failure, culminating in the dissolution of 1836. In 1829, the very year of Roman Catholic emancipation, he set sail for Upper Canada with a household of nine persons, including two domestic servants. He was still only some thirty years of age, but he possessed, in addition to his Orange enthusiasm, wide social experience and a knowledge of journalism gained by the publication, in Dublin, of a little newspaper known as the *Antidote*. His private means enabled him to settle on a four-hundred acre estate near Brockville, and develop it with comparative ease.

Once Gowan's purpose became known, the usual crowd of hangers-on made its appearance. One, Charles Nimens, of the Royal Artillery, asked an Orange acquaintance to represent to the Duke of Cumberland his small pay, large family, and very bad health. He was anxious to secure a pension and

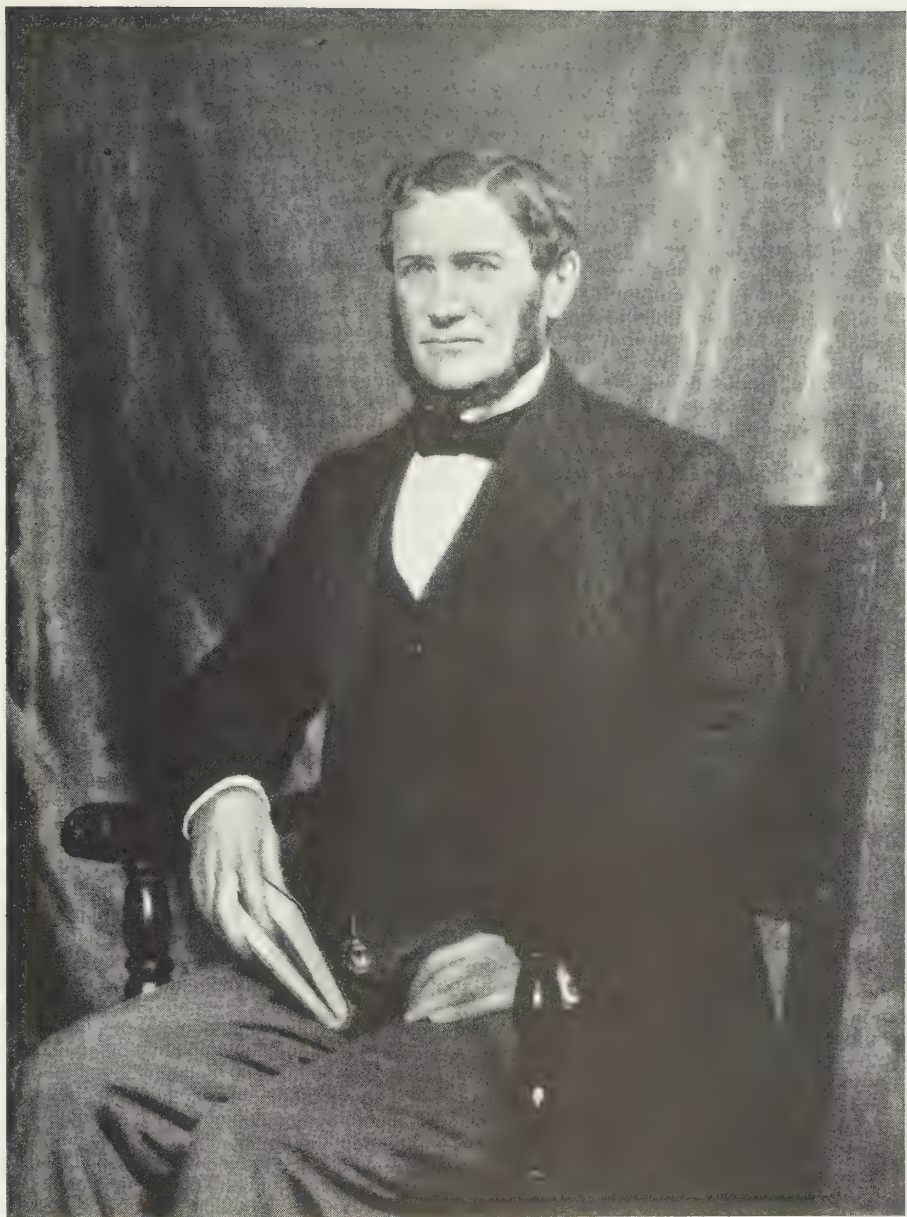
discharge so that he could "proceed to the Canadas, in British North America, together with Mr. Oagle [sic] Gowan, to promote to the utmost of my power the Orange Institution". He added a postscript stipulating that he did not wish his discharge "on any account without a pension with it"—even if it was only nine-pence per day. As there is no record of Nimens's success in Canada, it may be presumed that some prudent secretary of the Duke of Cumberland decided that the unfortunate gunner would be little acquisition to Orangeism in the New World.

As soon as possible Gowan began to inquire into the Orange feeling of Canada, first in his immediate neighbourhood, and then farther afield. He was amazed to find quite a strong sentiment looking toward annexation by the United States. Periodically during the nineteenth century there were popular movements, sometimes headed by men of influence, with that end in view. The Orange Order has invariably opposed such ideas with all the strength at its command, and Gowan was one of the first to marshal this opposition. He flung himself into the battle with characteristic courage and impetuosity.

It is more than likely, in the course of his voyages of Orange discovery, that the young leader met John Rutledge. If so they must have enjoyed each other. In spite of the disparity of their ages they had much in common. The veteran soldier in the Orange ranks could scarcely fail to recognize and salute the future commander-in-chief. Though Gowan had come from County Wexford, his position had brought him into touch with Orangeism in northern Ireland as well, and he could give John news of his old associates in Tyrone, Armagh, and Fermanagh. Rutledge, in his turn, would speak of the wide-spread Orange enthusiasm west of the capital; also, alas, of the prejudices from which the young new comer must have hoped to escape in this country.

"Of course, there is no trouble about Orange parades here", Gowan would say to Rutledge. "This is a Protestant province. In any case there is plenty of room for everyone, and people are not likely to tread on each other's toes as they do at home."

It must have been a sorry surprise for him to learn, not only that Roman Catholics had already precipitated riots,



Courtesy Mrs. Annie J. Ferguson-Burke

Chas. R. Lowman

In God is our trust be just and fear not
Loughgall District

Drumadrigy Orange Association No. 1437

We the Master Deputy Master and Secretary
of the Loughgall Orange Association No. 1437 do hereby
certify that the ever loving Brother Robt. Blewett
of this our Association has Received Regularly in our
Lodge the Degree of the Orange & Purple Markmen
in our Lodge Room held in Joseph Givins of
Drumadrigy and the Orange System of 1820 and that
during his stay with us he proved himself to be a
worthy Brother and devoted to the interests of the
of the Institution and as such we Recommend
him to all true Orange Men Round the Globe

In testimony of which we Affix our name
and Seal unto the glorious colours he is Entitled to
Wear Signed & Dated at our Lodge room this
8th Day of July 1820 in the parish of County of An
Kingdom of Ireland

Thos. Courtenay Master

Jm Carroll J. M. A.

Joseph Givins Secy



but also that the Orangemen had not always proven altogether blameless.

"Have you heard about the St. Patrick's day trouble in Bytown?" John Rutledge or, perhaps, some visitor from Ottawa itself, would ask. Then, if Gowan shook his head in the negative, out would pour the story of that great concourse of Irish labourers, which, in 1828, had become involved in a scrap with Orangemen. Two men had been killed and a number seriously injured. Here the Orangemen must have been the aggressors, and older lodge members, admitting the charge, would sigh heavily and wonder how to restrain their sons and nephews from thus adopting their opponents' weapons.

Even in Toronto township, where for some time there had been few Roman Catholics of any social or political status, trouble followed almost immediately upon the arrival of Colonel Connell J. Baldwin. The colonel took his name from the famous Irish O'Connells to whom he was related. When he settled near Malton, just south-east of the strong Orange community at Grahamsville, he felt it his duty, in accordance with the old feudal idea of a gentleman's obligation to his inferiors, to provide a church and school for his fellow Romanists. Whatever John Rutledge may have thought when he passed that little log building, he kept it to himself, for he recognized in Baldwin a gallant gentleman with a heart as loyal as his own. Some of his young neighbours were less discriminating. When they first found Roman Catholic services in progress in their fair township, they fired shots over the church, whereupon Baldwin called his man-servant to bring pistols, mounted guard in the doorway, and frightened the youngsters into decamping.

"That is not the sort of fracas that does us any good", Rutledge would remark sadly, in telling Gowan of the affair. "The lads meant well, but they were hot-headed and did not stop to think. What we need in this country is not so much talk and so many broken heads, but a few strong leaders who can discipline all these young fry and turn their energy to some good account."

Then they would discuss the political situation, and the seditious talk that was sometimes heard. The Orange Order was needed badly in the province, they would decide. It had

important work to do and must not squander its energy and defame its standard by such trifling squabbles. Gowan was still a young man himself, with all a young man's impetuosity, but he realized the need for organization and from his first arrival in Canada had definite plans for this.

After meeting such a man as John Rutledge, Gowan would return to Brockville encouraged by the discovery of one more rock for the foundation of the Orange edifice he longed to build. Rutledge would go home just as happy. After church next Sunday he would retail the conversation to his friends James Aikins, Michael Crawford, and William and Alexander Broddy. Alexander Nixon might be at church too, with his brothers-in-law, and if so the conversation would certainly run on Orangeism, for Alexander was an ardent Orangeman, as were to be his son, County Master John Nixon, and his grandson, County Master Thomas Nixon. Those whole-hearted Irish Protestants must often have congratulated themselves, during their first years in the Home District, that the Orange Order was spreading even faster in Upper Canada than it had at home. Orangemen had increased in spite of all opposition, like the children of Israel enslaved in Egypt. Now, in Gowan, they saw the Moses who was to lead them into the promised land.



CHAPTER IV

A GRAND LODGE FOR CANADA

*A leader, fearless at his post he stood,
Nor e'er to vile expediency would yield;
And from the slander of the rebel brood
His pen was found your safe protecting shield.*

ORANGEISM in Upper Canada in 1829 only remotely resembled Orangeism of today. Small groups of simple men were working in many of the rural communities, but they had to struggle along as best they could with little guidance from those who should have been their leaders. Their warrants, as already noted, were in confusion. Some derived from England; some, from Ireland, either directly or through the informal Canadian organization in Montreal. Parades had been held annually for a decade but the co-operation of groups throughout a district was secured only by the personal exertions of a few interested members. There was no real central organization and thus there could be no consistent, continuous, joint effort towards a single goal which should be national rather than local in nature and importance.

Perhaps the greatest problem of Canadian Orangeism in 1829 was to overcome government enmity or apathy. In less than a dozen years Radical leaders were to identify Orangemen with the government party and to damn in one broad sweep "tithes, hierarchy, Doctor Strachan and 12th July processions". The old Family Compact aristocracy, however, was still far from regarding with favour the wild Irish immigrants who had been swarming into the country during the past decade. The claims made by some of these Irish emigrants to be regarded as U.E. Loyalists because of a temporary sojourn in the United States long after the Revolutionary War show a naive eagerness to establish some adequate claim to notice by that ruling clique.

Most Orangemen of this period, indeed, far from being supporters of the reactionary element, seem to have been exceptionally broad in their views of democracy and political reform. The constituency of York, and a later western subdivision known as the 2nd Riding (which comprised the Peel townships), had many Orange inhabitants, yet was able

to return Radical members to the Provincial Legislature throughout the twenties and early thirties. To weave these scattered and heterogeneous elements into a close-knit fabric which would stand the wear and tear of the centuries was a task requiring qualifications such as no Orangeman in Canada prior to 1829 seems to have possessed.

Ogle R. Gowan was definitely the man for the hour. In the first place he had youth on his side. In the second he was able to draw on a wide Irish Orange experience, not only in his own person but through his contacts with other noted Orange leaders. On the other hand, he was not an intellectual snob but a man of the people, understanding their problems and able to make himself understood by them in turn. He was not, as pointed out by one of his political opponents, John Charles Dent, "educated" in the modern sense, nor did he ever lay claim to be. Yet his keen political vision and his broad democratic sympathies, as evinced in his pamphlet on *Responsible Government* published within a year or two of his arrival in Canada, all served to fit him for popular leadership. Above all, he was a man of quick decision and unyielding purpose, with a powerful mind and compelling personality which even his enemies could not fail to recognize and respect. Dent, for instance, admitted that his work showed "a considerable degree of rugged but uncultivated strength".

"There was a homely, coarse robustness in his writings which probably found way to the understandings of his readers more quickly As a speaker he was long known as one of the most effective in the Assembly. His training in Orange Lodges had given him a readiness of expression which enabled him to do full justice to the vein of eloquence which is proverbially an attribute of his race he was an able, active-minded man, destined to attain to higher distinction."

Henry Morgan, also considered an enemy, spoke of Gowan's talent for,

"Engaging the minds of popular assemblies and leading them with him. As a speaker, he is fluent and energetic, very often powerful in his appeals to feeling, and evidently speaks more for the audience than for the house. His sarcasm is bitter but possessing great evenness of temper. You seldom see him ruffled at any remarks which may be made. He is an active, well-made man with prepossessing face and easy insinuating manners; very mild in his address and with talents which if rightfully applied would soon raise him to an eminent situation."

His friends, on the other hand, describe him in much

more glowing terms, as,

"An educated, polished aristocrat, with a facile pen, . . . not only a man of vision, but also a powerful speaker, who had the faculty of drawing great minds about him."

Or again:

"Those who knew Colonel Gowan, loved and revered him. They characterized him as a true-tempered, Christian gentleman of large tolerance and tender sympathy, with 'the wit to see and the heart to dare', . . . a strongly-wise patriot, the lance and buckler of Orangeism in Canada."

Immediately upon his arrival in Canada, if indeed he had not been aware of it before, Gowan's Irish instinct warned him of impending conflict—conflict of the sort in which reputations are made or lost. A lesser man might have wavered in his choice or even tried to remain neutral. Not so Gowan. With his background and beliefs it was inevitable that in the years of revolutionary peril he should espouse the cause of law and order, and no fair-minded historian can question that the ultimate triumph of this cause was due in no small measure to his prompt and vigorous effort.

Obviously Gowan's first step was to gather the scores of little independent Orange groups in Upper Canada under one coherent leadership and discipline. He was able to take his first steps towards this end very soon. Long before he could possibly have been in touch with all the Orangemen of the province even by mail, he had gathered a sufficient nucleus for organization. With this he proceeded energetically. As a result, on 1st January, 1830, in the old court house of Elizabethtown, the Grand Lodge of British America came into existence.

Gowan was greeted with wild acclaim. Had he wished, he could have taken his seat at once, amid enthusiastic acclaim, upon the throne of the Grand Master. This position he preferred to leave open for the occupancy, he hoped, of the Duke of Cumberland, prince of the blood royal and now Grand Master of the prosperous Grand Lodges of Great Britain and Ireland. As for himself, he would be well content with second rank as Deputy Grand Master. Matheson became Grand Secretary and Burton First Deputy Grand Treasurer; others by their side gave full representation to the old timers of the colony.

It is unlikely that the officials of this newly-formed Grand Lodge wore the splendid dress prescribed by rules of

the period for similar institutions in the home land. There the reverend functionaries appeared about this time in "full canonicals" with "purple velvet scarf, with gold binding, gold fringe at the ends, and lined with orange silk".

"The uniform of the lay dignitaries is a blue coat with purple velvet cuffs and collar, a convex King William button, orange buff waistcoat, with white trousers on the 4th of June, and blue in February—patterns of which may be seen at the office of the Deputy Grand Secretary. An orange scarf and purple collar, with a medallion, are likewise to be worn on all occasions in the Imperial Grand Lodge, by those entitled to display such badges of distinction."

Still, even in such humbler garb as was available in a pioneer province, the sight of the enthusiastic assembly of 1830 must have been pleasing and comforting to the hearts of many loyal Orangemen. Certainly those who had made the long, toilsome trip from west of York to be present at the first deliberations of the provincial body went home more than satisfied.

John Rutledge does not seem to have been among these. Although he had been the originator of his local lodge, he had not remained its master once it became established. His was not a nature which craved power or prominence. All he asked was an opportunity to serve faithfully as a private in the ranks. Indeed, he made no objection to being transferred from one branch of the service to another, and when it proved difficult to get Grahamsville L.O.L. No. 142 well started John was one of the old No. 5 Orangemen who furnished its first bulwark. He continued on intimate terms with the members of No. 5 and No. 10, however, feeling that he had played his own humble part in the birth of both lodges. Both were accessible enough to the lot which, little by little, he had been clearing, and to which he seems to have moved his wife and family somewhere about this time. The representatives of these lodges often visited Rutledge on their return from county or Grand Lodge meetings to give him a prompt personal account of what had gone on.

The Grand Lodge of British North America does not seem to have extended its first activities much, if at all, beyond the borders of Upper Canada. Lodges in the Maritime Provinces had all they could do to keep their own heads above water. They were encountering as virulent and baseless criticism as their coadjutors in the Canadas. Not long

after the Grand Lodge was organized in Brockville the St. Andrew's *Herald* lamented that party spirit was being "fostered and watered" on the "peaceful shores of New Brunswick" by disgraced individuals such as a night prowler caught near the house of a prominent citizen after "attending the meeting of an Orange club". The implication of the article seems to be that this miscreant had found inspiration for his misconduct within lodge walls. In any case, even had Orangemen of the Maritime Provinces been at peace within their own borders, they could hardly have co-operated very closely, as yet, with their brethren in the Canadas, for the difficulties of overland travel in those pre-railway days kept the colonies almost as remote from each other as from the Mother Country.

The newly-formed Grand Lodge of Upper Canada was not without troubles of its own. The 1830 New Year's resolution of a number of Kingston magistrates seems to have taken the form of petitioning the House of Assembly to forbid Orange processions as likely to cause bloodshed. Moreover, another bill for the prohibition of these parades was brought up in Assembly on 22nd February, and ordered for second reading on the 23rd. It seems to have been quietly shelved, but gratuitous attacks of this sort stirred the Orangemen's fighting spirit, and one of the first resolutions of the young Grand Lodge was as follows:

"Whereas at our last quarterly meeting, we had resolved not to celebrate our approaching anniversary festival on the 1st day of July (O.S.) by a public parade or procession, and whereas our resolve to forego our most cherished feelings upon that occasion (a day dear to Freedom and Protestantism) has been construed by our enemies—(who are the enemies of their King and Country)—into pusillanimity and decay, be it therefore resolved, that on the next ensuing 12th of July, A PUBLIC PROCESSION, accompanied by Flags, Music, Colours, &c. shall take place, the Lodges to assemble and walk within their own districts respectively."

Further resolutions urged Orangemen to see that the next House of Assembly was made up of sound, independent representatives who would faithfully and fearlessly express the principles and intentions of the Society. To this end all members holding "bonds, location tickets, or any species of claims to landed property", were to make sure that these were properly registered before the next election, and that their franchise was secure.

On 24th January, 1831, the Solicitor General "moved for leave to bring in a bill to suppress certain public processions in this Province". His Orange Society Bill was read for the first time that day and ordered read a second time on the morrow but, like the measure of the previous year, seems somehow to have been side-tracked and never reappeared on the agenda. Perhaps the Solons of the thirties had begun to realize the danger of offending the new organization. After 1831 the opponents of Orangeism seem to have given its supporters a breathing-space, and gathered their own strength for another, more comprehensive attack.

While Canadian Orangeism was making its power felt in the high places which had hitherto heard so complaisantly the representations of its foes, it had opened communication with the Grand Lodge of the Loyal Orange Institution of Great Britain to secure confirmation of the Brockville organization. This could not be accomplished overnight. The young Grand Master may even have had to leave his new estate half cleared and return to England to look after the matter himself. The imposing array of distinguished figures present at the final settlement of this important matter indicates that the Association was now not only numerically strong but also supported by noblemen of the highest rank.

This meeting approved a statement from the Grand Committee according recognition to the Grand Lodge of British America and ordered an abstract of the minutes made for Gowan. The Canadian copy, as now on file at Grand Lodge headquarters, is the authority under which the Grand Lodge of British America operates and has operated for over a century. It reads as follows:

"LOYAL ORANGE INSTITUTION OF GREAT BRITAIN

"At a meeting of the VERY RIGHT WORSHIPFUL the GRAND LODGE assembled at No. 9 Portman Square on thursday the 19th day of April 1832.

"PRESENT: Field Marshall, His Royal Highness Prince ERNEST DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, K.G. &c &c. GRAND MASTER OF THE EMPIRE.

"The Very Right Worshipful and Right Honorable the Lord KENYON, F.S.A. &c. &c. Deputy Grand Master of England and Wales.

"The Very Right Worshipful and Most Noble, the Duke of GORDON F.R.S. &c. &c Deputy Grand Master of Scotland.

"The Very Right Worshipful and Right Honorable the Earl of ENNISKILLEN K. P. &c &c. Deputy Grand Master of Ireland.

"The Honorable Lloyd Kenyon President of the Grand Committee	Augustus Knipe Esqr. Member Grand Com:
"The Revd. Jonathan Wilkinson A.M. Deputy Grand Chaplain.	Sir Edmund Hayes Bart. M.P. Grand Master Co. Donegal.
"Lieut. Col. Fairman, Deputy Grand Master of London.	John Eedes Esqr. Member Grand Com.
"Lieut. Col. Verner Deputy Grand Master of Ireland.	Robert H. Dolling Esqr. Deputy Grand Master Co. Down.
&c &c &c &c &c &c &c &c &c	

"Apologies were read from His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, the Most Noble the Marquis of Chandos, the Most Noble the Marquis of Thomond, the Right Honorable the Earl of Roden, the Revd. Robert Spranger, and several other distinguished dignitaries of the order.

"On motion of Col. Fairman, Deputy Grand Master of London, seconded by Col: Verner, Deputy Grand Master of Ireland, it was Unanimously Resolved 'That with a view to extend the advantages of our excellent Institution in UPPER and LOWER CANADA, for the purpose too of disseminating its principles far and wide, on the recommendation of the Grand Committee, whose members had examined documents and testimonials of his eligibility; the GRAND LODGE have appointed Ogle Robert Gowen Esqr. to be the Deputy Grand Master of all the PROVINCES in BRITISH NORTH AMERICA with the DEPENDENCIES, COLONIES, and SETTLEMENTS belonging, appertaining or adjacent thereto. Under the auspices of this Officer, who is desirous of being recognized by the GRAND LODGE of the EMPIRE and of being under the cognizance and command of its ROYAL and MOST ILLUSTRIOUS GRAND MASTER; and who is certified to be, not only a sound Protestant and most zealous Orangeman; but worthy in every way of filling the exalted and responsible situation at which he aspires and with no less Honor to Himself than Satisfaction to the Brotherhood, has provisionally exercised: the Society is reported to have increased in the number and in the consideration of it's members, with a rapidity to be scarcely credited. The merits of this Gentleman, and the great benefits likely to be derived from his being thus promptly installed in the dignified and important Post of which he no less loyally than dutifully has sought a confirmation, are duly appreciated by the Grand Lodge; who accompany this notification of his appointment to so high and extensive an Office, with their cordial thanks to him for his activity and Spirit, in the discharge of his functions, and with their sincerest wishes, for the success and the welfare of the Institution under his able guidance and managment in such a remote, populous, and extensive portion of His Majesty's Dominions'

"Truly extracted from the minutes of the Grand Lodge.

"Signed ERNEST Grand Master.

"Signed CHETWOODE EUSTACE CHETWOODE Grand Secretary.

"London 23rd April 1832."

It would appear from this entry in the minutes of the Grand Lodge that the Canadian venture had whole-hearted

and unanimous support at home. This is not quite so. Although this was the unanimous decision of the meeting at which the Grand Master of the Empire and his deputies in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales were present, the author's fellow countrymen seem, as usual, to have exercised their time-honoured privilege of having a grievance and airing it. The Grand Lodge of Ireland was jealous of its jurisdiction. Perhaps Irish Orangemen were irritated by the decision to submit Canada's application in Portman square rather than at Florence Court. At any rate the Grand Lodge of Great Britain was able to give practically no official help to the infant Grand Lodge of Canada during its first delicate years. The entire burden was left upon the shoulders of the father, founder, and first Grand Master. It was a tremendous task, but he was to prove himself equal to it.

As the American colonies, according to Burke, flourished on the neglect of the Mother Country, so Canadian Orangism flourished on the neglect, or even opposition, of its natural leaders at home. In the thirties Irish Grand Lodge officials seem to have connived at the continuance of lodges in the Canadas under warrants from abroad. In 1831 "most cheering accounts" were received from lodges sitting in the Canadas under Irish warrants. These, the Grand Lodge of Ireland was informed, emulate "each other in evincing their gratitude for the interest taken by you in their welfare". After the formation of a Grand Lodge in British America, this procedure was obviously both illegal and illogical yet it seems to have continued. In 1833, for example, the Deputy Grand Secretary of the Loyal Orange Institution of Great Britain informed certain lodges in Upper and Lower Canada that they were under Irish jurisdiction and must direct all correspondence there in future, completely neglecting to refer them to the new authority in the new country. Indeed, in 1835, the Grand Lodge of British America considered it necessary to send a delegate to confer with the Grand Lodges of Great Britain and Ireland and meanwhile to resolve:

"That no warrants be held as legal, or acknowledged as in connexion with the Orangemen of Upper Canada, except such as are issued by the Grand Lodge of British North America, until after the return of the delegate from Great Britain and Ireland, military lodges alone excepted."

It was not until the parliamentary inquiry in Great Britain later in 1835 that Irish officials made attempts to

Emerson Chinguaousy County Lodge, N. York
Committee Room February 5 1849

We the Committee of County Lodge have
Tried the case of Brother John Hewitt
and wee consider him fully Cleared
as Trustworthy Master

William Buffey
George Spiering
Wm. H. Hall
Henry Rutledge
C. John Higgins

Brother Wm. Brown you are Requested
To attend at your Lodge Room on the
first Monday in July fail not at your
Duty

Jan 7th 1849

Wm. H. Hall
Secretary

Joseph H. H. H.

Loyal Orange Lodge





CAPTAIN JOHN WIGGINS



Courtesy Ellen Wiggins

ELIZABETH (HARRIS) WIGGINS

gloss this attitude over or explain it away. H. R. Baker then suggested, apparently for the first time, that any lodges operating in the Canadas under Irish warrants had been set up through mistake of the masters themselves, and that any connection with the Home Land was personal rather than institutional. Most striking of all, perhaps, was his emphatic disclaimer of that very jurisdiction in British American affairs which Ireland had once claimed so hotly and so obstinately. Asked whether warrants for lodges in North America had to be signed by the Grand Master of England or of Ireland, he replied that such lodges had "no direct connexion". He added, with marked detachment, that "newspapers" had reported establishment of an independent Grand Lodge on that continent and appointment of "a person of the name of Gowan who had been an Irish Orangeman, as the Deputy Grand Master". Baker even denied that the Duke of Cumberland had consented to become Grand Master of the new Canadian Grand Lodge, and this is borne out by the early mention of Gowan himself in this distinguished post.

It was better so. The formation of the Canadian Grand Lodge in 1830 was to inaugurate a period of the most intense activity the Orangemen of Canada have ever known and was to culminate in their prompt response to the almost stupefying crisis of 1837. Abroad, on the other hand, the reputation of the Order during the thirties was to be at the lowest ebb of its history and indeed to be almost lost in the quicksands of political controversy and scandalous attack. It was fortunate, when the services of Canadian Orangemen were to be essential to the safety of their country, that they were not so closely attached to the home organization as to be overwhelmed in its downfall.

For some time after its formal organization the officials of the new Grand Lodge of British North America were kept busy issuing warrants to primary lodges. Brockville (Elizabethtown) received warrant No. 1. What became of No. 2 and No. 3 the records do not reveal. No. 4 went to the Town of York. It should by rights, Rutledge declared, have come to him and his brethren because their lodge was older. They had even made out their application earlier, but, owing to the condition of the roads, they could not reach York to

put it in the mails. Thus they had to be satisfied with warrant No. 5.

According to official records, there were, by 1833, 103 lodges operating under official charters. These were distributed through 25 districts, themselves grouped in 12 counties. Some of the counties had soon to be subdivided, including York, from which three Orange counties were eventually to be formed. The total membership in 1833 was 11,242.

One of Gowan's chief aides in setting in motion with such rapidity this remarkable machine was his cousin, James Robert, later Sir James, Gowan (LL.D., 1883; K.C.M.G., 1905), who came to Canada in 1852 with his parents, Henry Halton Gowan and Elizabeth Birkett, to settle in Albion township. James R. was some years the junior of his cousin. Still, in the first available minutes, he was registered as a member of the Grand Committee, and according to records of 1845 had been Grand Secretary for some years prior to that date. He served during the Rebellion of 1837 and afterwards entered the law firm of Honourable J. E. Small, whose appointment as Solicitor General Mackenzie attributed to Orange influence. At the age of twenty-eight the young Irishman was appointed judge for Simcoe district. He interested himself in education and founded the first law journal published in Upper Canada. In 1885, two years after he resigned his judgeship, he was appointed to the Senate; he aided in the codification of the Criminal Law, and resigned in 1907 because of ill health.

There are probably few authentic Canadian Orange records earlier than the old York County Lodge minutes which are extant from June, 1834. At that date the chairman was John Rutledge's old friend, County Master James Chambers of lot 14, concession 6 east, Toronto township. Among other officers were: Robert Hamilton, Past County Grand Master and an important landholder in Toronto and Chinguacousy townships; Thomas Brown Phillips of Grahamsville, County Grand Secretary; Joseph Chambers, County Grand Treasurer and master of No. 5; and James Curry, Deputy County Grand Treasurer and master of No. 10. Peel lodges were further represented by George Hamilton, master of No. 61 (Tullamore), Joseph Orr, master of

No. 62 (Whaley's Corners), James Polley, master of No. 105 (Port Credit), John Lindsay, master of No. 146 (Bolton), and William Carfoot, master of No. 148 (later Victoria). Visitors from the county, in addition to the host, Francis Lundy, included John Wiggins, John McCort, George Armstrong, and James Grafton.

By December, John Cook was secretary of a second lodge in the Streetsville vicinity. Captain John Wiggins had started another at Brampton's four corners, apparently with his own four stalwart sons as the backbone of the membership, since the *Constitution* of 16th August, 1837, remarks slightly:

"Mr. Wiggins has a lodge here, and just 10 members, including his family."

The writer's aim is apparently to show that,

"The Orangemen are just as discontented as the reformers . . . the number . . . mostly overrated . . . not . . . more than 3,500 of them in the province."

In view of the hostile note pervading this paragraph, its estimate of the total membership of Wiggins's lodge may be discounted, especially as this was to have continuous and active existence throughout the coming years.

William Morrison, District Master of Albion, was also noted among the visitors at the county meeting in December, 1834. Another was a certain William B. Gowan, Assistant Grand Chaplain, an uncle of the Grand Master.

By the end of 1834, the Western part of the Home District was beginning to be less of a wilderness and more of a settled rural community. Settlers had established themselves amid the swamps of Brampton, and the Centre road was open for traffic. The Methodist itinerants now had preaching appointments throughout the five townships that were later to comprise Peel, and in this year the little Methodist congregation at Shell's schoolhouse purchased land for the first Bethany church.

Members of the Church of England were also cared for better than heretofore. By 1830 the Reverend James Magrath had settled at Erindale. His four sons were to be a strong acquisition to the Orange Order which, according to Mackenzie, they joined to make it "respectable". At least two of the second generation of this family are known to

have belonged to Peel lodges—Charles, who was later to become first bursar of Trinity College, and William M. V., who served as lieutenant in the Second West York Militia. It is probable that Thomas W., who served as major in the West York Militia during the Rebellion, and James, Jr., who served as lieutenant, were also Orangemen.

This did not assure sympathetic relations with their Orange neighbours. The Reverend James had a bitter dispute with the Honourable Peter Adamson about some land on the River Credit to which both gentlemen laid claim. This dispute lasted six years, and both men lost their tempers pretty completely several times during the period.

In 1832, on the suggestion of Magrath, it was recommended that a school reserve, lot 3, concession 1 west, Toronto township, be granted in trust to Colonel William Thompson, James Gardner, and Magrath himself. Doubtless the school was built soon after. On John Rutledge's other hand, in Grahamsville, Thomas Brown Phillips was also instructing the young, and Duncan McKellar was receiving government aid for the same purpose in 1830. John Rutledge's own children were no longer in need of such services, but he was already beginning to look forward to the day when there would be bright-haired grandchildren prattling around his knees.

When Rutledge surveyed the prosperous communities of Grahamsville and Derry West, with smiling farm-lands spread between, he could not but be glad and proud of his decision to come to Canada. A happy family group was now clustered about the north-east corner of Toronto township. John's brother Archibald had married a Miss Chambers, and was living on the fourth line. She seems to have been a sister or daughter of the Robert Chambers who was renting a Clergy Reserve property on lot 15, concession 5 east, Toronto township, and who applied to purchase this in 1839, so Archibald Rutledge was doubtless working part of this property.

In 1833 John's daughter Catherine had married young David Neelands, half-brother of the Reverend John, and descendant of an illustrious family of Viking origin. She was now happily settled with her husband on lot 13, concession 2 east, Toronto township. In 1834 Jane too had mar-

ried. Her husband, Abraham Orth of lot 7, concession 1, Toronto S.D.S., came of a Pennsylvania family which had settled originally in Markham and had later moved into Burnhamthorpe district. Abraham's brother, Jonathan Orth, was later to marry one of John's favourite nieces, Sarah Jane Rutledge, daughter of his younger brother George, the schoolmaster of Sydenham.

No domestic happiness, however, could entirely content the mind of any Orangeman in the Home District in the eighteen-thirties. A new spirit was abroad in the land, and was causing the keenest anxiety. Gowan had sensed it upon his arrival, and the haste with which he set about the organization of a grand lodge may have been dictated by this. He undoubtedly realized the need for a compact body of opinion to combat the revolutionary ideas which were becoming ever more prevalent. To the forging of such a weapon, the first years of the organized Orange Order in Upper Canada were devoted almost entirely.



CHAPTER V
ORANGEMEN IN ARMS

*Our sires may boast of "Ninety-eight,"
We boast of "Thirty-seven,"
From Gallows Hill, in daylight bright,
The rebel foe were driven;
They dared not wait
A soldier's fate,
But, craven-hearted, flew,
From true men,
Like you men,
The Orange and the Blue.*

—A MEMBER OF 387

WHEN John Rutledge came to Upper Canada he knew that life would be hard here, but he thought it would be very simple. You had a piece of land; you did certain work on it and paid your fee; then the land was yours. You go to know your neighbours and to like them. You started an Orange lodge for yourselves and a church for your wives and children. You took your farm produce and your cattle to the market at York and saved a little money. You and your neighbours put up a school, made roads, built a bridge over the river. When you had finished improving your own land, the government gave you further grants for your children and there were more improvements to make. You grew old. You died. But it had not all been for nothing. You left your children something for which to live and work—a goodly heritage of patient industry.

Ere long John learned that life was more complex than that. You could not consider only yourselves and your immediate neighbours. You were part of a larger community, in the problems of which you became involved willy-nilly. You had to interest yourself in political discussions, and decide between pros and cons which at times seemed pretty evenly balanced.

On the whole, John bore the Family Compact no grudge. They might be, as some folk said, a pack of wealthy aristocrats, indifferent to everyone's welfare but their own, and hostile to every religious denomination but the Church of England. It might be true that they had grabbed all the best land and helped themselves to the most lucrative government positions. Yet John's land was good enough too.



Specially drawn for Perkins Bull Historical Series

C. W. JEFFERYS. R.C.A., O.S.A., LL.D.

THE LEGEND OF GALLOWS HILL

The haunted hill on Yonge street north of Davenport road which sometimes gives its name to the skirmish at Montgomery's tavern.

The Record
of District No. 2
of the Royal Exchange
Association of
the County of York
Commenced with
January 1850

William Spence

1850

1851

1852

1853

1854

1855

1856

1857

1858

1859

1860

1861

1862

1863

1864

1865

1866

1867

As long as they left him alone to improve it, to educate his children as well as he could, and to live on terms of jovial good-fellowship with his Orange neighbours, they could keep their wealth and aristocracy for all he cared.

Still, it hardly seemed safe for the country to be governed by three men, even so capable as Doctor Strachan, Chief Justice William Dummer Powell, and the handsome, brilliant John Beverley Robinson. From what he had heard John doubted whether they had handled Robert Gourlay in the fairest fashion, let alone the most tactful. Worse still, they had learned nothing from the trouble he had caused, and it looked as though they were following the same mistaken course with another, a far abler Scotsman, William Lyon Mackenzie.

In 1826, when John had heard the story of the unruly lads who raided Mackenzie's printing-office and pitched into the lake nearly all the machinery and type used for the *Colonial Advocate*, he had shaken his head as sadly as he was later to do when two or three young sprigs from the Orange tree discharged their shot-guns over Baldwin's church. "Nobody ever gets anywhere by force", he was accustomed to say on such occasions. "If you have right on your side, you don't need it, and if you're wrong, it can't save you in the end."

Public sympathy had seemed strongly with Mackenzie after the printing-press incident. He had sued the parents of the youngsters for damages, and the judgement in his favour had provided finances for his first election campaign. In 1829 he had entered the Legislative Assembly from York's second riding, later Peel. The Family Compact had disliked his opinions and abominated his expression of them; in 1831 he had been expelled for libel. Repeatedly re-elected, he had been as regularly re-expelled. His popularity had thriven on this opposition, and in 1834, when the Town of York was incorporated as the City of Toronto, this high-spirited Reformer became first mayor.

Some of the reforms Mackenzie advocated were so entirely reasonable and proper that many much better behaved people than himself flocked to his colours. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Orangemen, as already indicated, were by no means as conservative as today, and a

number of lodge members must have been among Mackenzie's early supporters or he could not have been so persistently re-elected from the future Peel townships. Indeed one Orangeman wrote to the editor of the *Constitution*,

"I do not think you do us justice as a body. It was an orangeman who sat 30 hours in the new-plastered jury room of the assize court here, to announce as foreman of the special jury that they gave you \$2500 for the loss of your types: it was an orangeman who, as a physician, was sent into the room where one of the jury was sick, and by bleeding enabled him to remain till they agreed to that verdict; at least a hundred orangemen voted for you to be Mayor, or for the Reformers in that struggle; in your election for the county in '30, and at other times, orangemen were not so much your enemies as you assert . . ."

With such continued support, the Reform leader had naturally grown over-confident. By 1834, Orangemen, ever sensitive to the least shadow of disloyalty, were beginning to recognize in him a potential advocate of independence if not of annexation by the United States. A loyal Lower Canadian, George Perkins Bull by name, had written Lord Kenyon in 1832 regarding the growing spirit of disaffection in his province, and his brother Orangemen in the Upper province felt the same anxiety. Fortunately, after 1830, the Orangemen were organized and in a position to nip disaffection in the bud. This, to the best of their ability, they now proceeded to do.

Mackenzie had been quick to sense their opposition. At first neutral in his attitude towards them, in August, 1832, he accused them in the *Colonial Advocate* of uniting with the Roman Catholics to prevent reform. Fortunately the Orangemen had a vehicle for public defence in a newspaper which Gowan edited under the titles, successively, of the *Sentinel*, the *Antidote*, and the *Statesman*. Mackenzie did not actively oppose Gowan's election to Legislative Assembly in 1834, but he made public use of treasonable language which outraged Orangemen even more than personal attacks. His attitude is suggested by an Orange toast on 12th July, 1834, which evidently quoted him, albeit sarcastically:

" 'The baneful domination of the Mother Country'—may the miscreants who have attempted to free us from such domination sink in public estimation as rapidly as the land of our adoption is rising in national importance and individual prosperity."

The first open clash in Peel seems to have come near the

end of 1833, at the Hyde hostelry in Streetsville. The Hydes were hard-bitten Vermont Yankees, with little use for kings and their councillors, and none at all for Orangemen. The mistress of the household seems to have been something of a termagant. Although her husband was to survive for another two years, the inn was already known as Mother Hyde's. The son and heir, John C., did not dare to marry until his dominant mother had got into her eighties and was beginning to lose some of her youthful vigour, while he did not come into his own in local industrial circles until after her death. Politically too, he reacted against her influence, and in 1861 was one of twelve prominent Conservatives who signed John Hillyard Cameron's invitation to become a candidate in Peel.

Good-tempered or not, old Mrs. Hyde was an excellent cook. One of the most annoying features of the whole Reform movement, in the eyes of Orangemen, was that her disaffection gave Mackenzie and his lieutenants a monopoly of the fine dinners which might have been enjoyed by better-disposed folk on the twelfth and other great occasions. Their feelings rose to boiling-point when they heard that the Reformers were arranging an official reception and banquet to celebrate their leader's victory at the polls in December. Mouths watered at a description of Mother Hyde's preparations. There was freshly-baked bread that would have turned any other woman in the Home District green with envy. The roasted chickens would be done to a nicety; the thyme savoury dressing, a masterpiece. The pies of dried apples and dried pumpkin had rewarded the cook's hours of patient labour by turning out even better than usual. That such delicacies should be lavished upon possible traitors was not to be borne.

Mother Hyde went her way, blissfully unaware of the Orangemen's mounting wrath. By six o'clock everything was ready. Betsy, the little bound girl, had her face pressed against the window, watching anxiously for the guests to arrive, while Mother Hyde made herself as presentable as possible to greet the distinguished company. Big sleighs jingled up to the door. Hoarse shouts and homeric laughter re-echoed in the court-yard. Then the jubilant Reformers, hungry after their long ride, crowded around table and fire-

place. An enormous barrel of home-made cider was besieged by the more thirsty members. Those for whom cider was too mild a brew sent Betsy scurrying off in search of whisky. A moment later, floating in a sea of skirts and heavy perfume, Mother Hyde swept into the room.

Everyone took his place. Mackenzie asked Malcolm McKinnon to say a Gaelic grace, and a momentary silence fell on the assembled Reformers. It was broken, not by a single voice of quiet reverence, but by a tremendous hulla-baloo outside. Shouts, battle cries, thumping of fists and shillelaghs, were heard. The door burst open and into the room streamed a small army of the Town Line Blazers.

The battle raged for a quarter hour or so. The Reformers, although unprepared and outnumbered, fought valiantly for their principles and their roast chicken, but were eventually chased out, hungry and furious, into the cold. The victorious Town Line Blazers bolted the door on the vanquished Reformers and had soon bolted the food as well. Mother Hyde volunteered some information regarding their characters and ancestry, but they swallowed this too, good-humouredly enough, along with the sweet, only pausing occasionally for a gentle admonition to the hostess regarding the inelegance of her language.

Told and retold with great gusto in the Orange lodges of the county, by this time at least a dozen in number, the joke on the Reformers lost nothing in transit. George Rutledge, now a lad of seventeen and drilling with the county militia, heard it from a group of his cronies in the regiment and passed it on, with great glee, at supper. His father was not so sure the joke was a good one. Still, as an Irishman, he could not fail to appreciate a good fight, and he was to have ample occasion to recognize and admire the prowess of the Town Line Blazers in this regard during the four exciting years that followed.

It must be remembered that there was then no properly organized provincial police, and that the few local constables available could hardly be depended upon in an emergency. Thus there were no guarantees that peace and loyalty would be preserved unless these were provided by individual initiative. It must be remembered, in addition, that in old Upper Canada the administration of criminal

law was much less watertight than in the present Dominion. Close observers abroad were convinced of the gravity of the situation and of the fact that Orangemen were compelled to take some sort of action. William Blacker, in his examination before the Select Committee of the British House of Commons in 1835, expressed his belief that "the preservation of Lower Canada to Britain" might "very shortly depend upon the Orangism of Upper Canada". According to Blacker, communications from Ulster-men in the Upper Province stated that,

"They were watching with an anxious eye the proceedings of the Government of England towards the Protestants of Ireland, to see what part they would take as to assisting England in the preservation of Lower Canada, and much would depend upon the conduct of Government in that respect."

This statement was taken as amounting to a threat that disorder in Canada would follow unfair treatment shown the Association at home, and was emphasized by repeated attacks. Of course, any implication that Canadian Orangemen would regulate their devotion to the British Crown and measure their exertions by the British attitude towards their Irish brethren was utterly groundless. Whatever injustices the Order had to face, at home or abroad, Orangemen could not but be loyal.

It must not be supposed, however, that all Orangemen were anti-Mackenzie or that all Reformers were Roman Catholics. Most of the strongly Protestant Switzers seem to have been among Mackenzie's supporters, yet in 1853 Samuel was to be one of the Peel Orangemen on the Grand Committee of the Grand Lodge of British America. The Irvines, a strong Orange family, split on the rock of party politics. They had come out from Enniskillen to New York with the 1826 migration but had not settled permanently in Canada alongside their old friends the Grahams until 1834. Charles Irvine was known to be in sympathy with some of Mackenzie's demands, though he was too loyal a subject to take up arms against constituted authority, while his brother William was strongly Tory. John Rutledge, like Charles Irvine, if he did not actually support Mackenzie, maintained, until shortly before the actual outbreak of rebellion, a more or less neutral position.

Essentially a family man, Rutledge's interests were

concentrated on his homestead. His beard was a bit more grizzled than when he had sailed from Ireland for New York, and there were fine lines appearing about the corners of the eyes and mouth, but otherwise the years had dealt gently with him. He was as strong as ever, his shoulders were as broad, and his zest for life was undiminished. Still, it was pleasant to feel that he had a fine upstanding son to lean upon should need arise. He could wish all this political trouble to blow over peacefully for George's sake even if not for his own. It would soon be time for the boy to marry and settle down. If he could take a fancy to Catherine Nixon, now—there would be as good an Orange match as ever was made in County Tyrone or County Fermanagh.

Most of John's ambitions for his son were to be realized. George was destined to become a man of property and influence. He had been carefully trained in what secular knowledge seemed fitted to his position, and his mother had instructed him in the simple truths of the Christian religion, so essential to good Orangemen and good citizens. Because she had seen a great deal of unhappiness result from the extravagant use of whisky, she employed all the quiet influence at her command to steer him towards temperance and sobriety. In this she had the whole-hearted support of the boy's father, who in order to help her in her campaign gave up the practice of drinking whisky in the house or permitting others to do so, and soon became a mainstay of one of the earliest temperance lodges in the district.

In the election of 1836, when Mackenzie was defeated by Colonel Thomson, George Rutledge did not have a vote, but he was now a well set up young man of nineteen with pronounced opinions of his own. In those days it was possible to play an active part in an election without voting, and George was doubtless one of the lusty Orange boys whose activities the Reformers so resented. Rolph later remarked of this campaign:

"Orange influence is more easily *felt* than *proved*. It is not unlike that oppressive condition of the atmosphere, which is felt in all its uneasy effects, but is otherwise intangible, undiscernible & beyond detection. . . . to put your finger upon it, is the difficulty . . . To declare, therefore, that the late elections were not pervaded by an Orange influence, so universally experienced, because not specifically and personally proven, is not more unreasonable or untrue than to deny the prevalence of a

peculiar condition of atmosphere in the cholera seasons of 1832 and 1834, because the chemist could not exhibit it in his laboratories."

The tactics adopted by the Governor and his friends to secure Colonel Thomson's election would seem indefensible to the supporter of any party now, but political manners of an older age cannot be judged by today's. It was then considered a matter of course that an election should involve wide-spread drunkenness and the giving and taking of black eyes. Cudgels were wielded with the greatest freedom by both sides, and bribery and intimidation were used openly.

Now that Mackenzie had lost the support of the Orangemen his meetings were often broken up by loyalists armed with hickory blocks, stones from the river-bed, or whatever other weapons proved handy. After a speech in Brampton he had to be hustled off by Doctor Pattullo, urged on by a shower of rotten eggs and similar missiles. At Cole's Corners (Churchville) there was a riot, described by Mackenzie's correspondent as an "orange outrage". "Harry Cole, the Orange Bully, brought with him a club in his hand, and a boy bearing his rifle loaded with ball." An "orange brute" climbed the platform with his shillelagh, crying, "No Popery!—No surrender!" and tried to throw Mackenzie down upon the "knives, whips and clubs of his enraged and infuriated banditti". Mackenzie's opponent, who, according to A. H. Crozier, had been heard quietly for two hours or more, made no attempt to prevent what seemed imminent slaughter. Thomson, the member, and Colonel Thomson both "publicly applauded" the Orangemen for their "loyal and soldierly conduct", and Charles Magrath "praised his brother orangemen for their spirit" in cutting and slashing a number of "quiet and respectable unarmed men". John Stewart, Jr. "got the ill will of the orange devils in an especial degree" for saving Mackenzie from their fury.

"Three of them, George Sparling, master of a lodge, Peter Cook and David Orr, chased him until he got across the Credit, with dreadful threatenings . . . Mr. H. Patterson, storekeeper, Streetsville, was very busy in applauding the orangemen . . . Some of the orangemen brought their guns and FIXED BAYONETS to the meeting—and they had a waggon load of clubs covered with hay, and two women sitting on it to prevent suspicion."

Another correspondent wrote from Streetsville regarding the same affair:

"The justices of rascality here concocted their scheme partly the day before the meeting, and partly that morning. I stood by when three *worshipfuls*, three storekeepers, an M.P., and others, talked over the matter. B. said he had arranged every thing according to the Colonel's directions—he had seen Harry Cole, and sent to Noble Coakly, and advised that M'Kenzie should be put out of the way, though he should not like to be accessory to it . . ."

It must be remembered that these extracts are all taken from Radical papers, which seem to have been better preserved. Actions which constituted an offence to the Reformers because they were beaten would doubtless have been applauded by them as vigorously if the situations had been reversed. Sparling, for instance, was a highly respectable farmer, of one family with that William Henry of Derry West who invented the "Sparling Reaper".

As it was, victory lay with the Orangemen. When the time came to vote it was a daring Reformer who could face frowning government officials, and before a throng of jeering, snarling neighbours record his open adherence to the reputed traitor. So the Orangemen thought, at least, and George Rutledge came home full of righteous indignation, not at his own party's apparent use of bribery and intimidation, but at its opponents' effrontery in objecting.

"Imagine, father", he would say hotly, "that rascal Mackenzie had the boldness to put in an appearance himself. With Samuel Switzer's half-brother Martin, of all men, forcing a way through the crowd for him! After the Governor had said that any loyal subject would vote for Thomson!"

John would shake his head sadly. His wife would remark in a mild, puzzled voice that she could not understand Martin Switzer; she had always thought all the Switzers such nice people.

"Well, we showed what we thought of it," George would continue. "We made things hot for them all right."

"I'll warrant you did," John would return with a glint of wicked delight in his Irish eyes, and the mother would smile fondly at her stalwart young son.

Few officials seem to have appreciated the work the Orangemen did in this election. A memorandum of this period says: "West of the City the people are more to be relied on. There are Orangemen in that Quarter." But the

Family Compact still regarded the Order with—as Robertson puts it—“aristocratic contempt . . . expressed in a language unmistakable”.

As a result of this feeling, in 1834, many of Toronto's Orange leaders, wishing to prevent bad feeling and to concur with the wishes of those in authority, suspended their public parades. Instead, about thirty met at the Ontario House, and shared a friendly dinner. The rank and file of Orangemen did not follow this example. Thus in 1835 the *Patriot*, evidently a semi-official journal, called the annual parade a celebration participated in by “some of the lower orders”, as a result of which the police court had been busy for a week or more with cases of assault and battery.

In 1836 the new Lieutenant-Governor began to make personal representations to Orange leaders with a view to having parades discontinued. Alexander Dixon subsequently signed an affidavit which may be quoted, in part, as follows:

“His Excellency . . . intimated to me a strong desire that the Orangemen should give up their usual processions held on the 12th of July, which desire being communicated to the principals of that body, together with His Excellency's unwillingness, as expressed to the House of Assembly, forcibly to prevent the said processions as apparently desired by the House, an unusually large number of the Associations met, and of their own accord, and agreeably to the wishes of His Excellency, passed a resolution against processions of any kind on the aforesaid day.”

Head went farther than this, and farther than even Roman Catholic agitators had gone, and suggested to John Stewart, Grand Secretary, that “the best mode of securing the tranquility of the Province” would be “a voluntary dissolution” of the Order. This, to all intents and purposes, the London Orangemen were willing to accept. Fortunately, the final decision rested with the Grand Lodge, which took a saner stand. The Order would not dissolve, they decided; it could not afford to.

Home District Orangemen were never able to understand the Governor's optimism about prospects for peace, but there was nothing they could do to undeceive him. Head was a man of vast self-complacency and limited insight. He treated the activities of the Reformers as unworthy of attention. To show his contempt for them, he sent all the permanent troops in the province to Lower Canada to help Sir

John Colborne put down the insurrection there. The best way to deal with Mackenzie and his "lawless resolute" was, Head claimed, to ignore them. And, until the very last moment, all advice to the contrary notwithstanding, that is exactly what he did.

The Lieutenant-Governor's blindness to actual conditions encouraged Roman Catholics to continue their efforts to secure prohibition of Orange processions. Colonel Baldwin seems to have been one of the most popular agitators. Of petitions submitted on 4th April, 1836, his carried 2,431 names; Thomas Parke's, only 54; John Fisher's, 122; Billa Flint's, 747; and T. McGuire's, 218. Fortunately, most members of the House seemed to feel that the laws already upon the statute books could, "if rigidly enforced, . . . put down public processions likely to endanger the public peace", and that no further legislation was required.

A new danger threatened in August of the same year, when Glenelg forwarded a suggestive account of the disbandment of Orange lodges in the British Isles. The story of this disbandment is blurred with talk of plots. When the Duke of Cumberland became Grand Master, he was lawful heir to the Kingdom of Hanover, and may have felt himself lawful heir to the British throne also. Any attempt to enforce his claim was another matter, however. As for the accusation that the Orangemen planned to support him in such an attempt, it sounds exceedingly far-fetched. Nevertheless, in 1835, Roman Catholic agitation secured a special committee of the House of Commons, including several Roman Catholics, to investigate the Order's political activities. Orange books were mauled about and officials persistently cross-examined. In vain. Except for some confusion incident upon informal organization and triple authority, everything seems to have been open and above board. But princes must be above the least shadow of suspicion. His Majesty asked the Order to dissolve, and members submitted loyally.

Perhaps by the time this news reached Upper Canada, the Government was sufficiently alive to the political situation of the province to realize the part the Orangemen might soon be called upon to play. At any rate, Glenelg's letter seems to have been temporarily shelved, and Orange-



Courtesy Miss Jennie Loughheed

DESCENDANTS OF ROBERT MOORE

Top row: James, William, Joseph, Robert; middle row: Mrs. James (Emily Armstrong), Dr. Chas. Young, Annie; bottom row: Margaret (Mrs. David Wedgewood), Nellie, David Wedgewood, the four Wedgewood children; Mrs. Robert & Agnes.



Courtesy Miss Jennie Loughheed

LOUGHEED FAMILY

Top row: *John, Sir James, Mrs. John (Mary Ann Alexander)*; middle row: *Thomas, Allen, Joseph*; bottom row: *Mary Ann (Mrs. John Cruikshank), Charles, Joseph, Jennie.*

men were able to concentrate their attention on preparations for the coming conflict.

In the nerve-racking year which followed the bitter election of 1836, Mackenzie lost all hope of attaining his ends by peaceful means. He grew ever rasher in speech and action. The British connection was upheld, he felt, by tyranny and corruption. The U. E. Loyalists had forgotten to be loyal to anything higher than their own interests. Very well, he would advocate severance of the imperial tie, and would move more or less openly towards armed rebellion and alliance with the United States.

Soon it was rumoured that bodies of would-be rebels were drilling secretly at night throughout the Home District. Bullets and weapons were being forged in every way-side blacksmith shop. Wherever two or three men were gathered together there was a secret meeting. Below the ordinary, placid, industrial and agricultural occupations of the settlers, could be sensed a seething undercurrent of subversive agitation which grew steadily bolder and more persistent as winter approached.

Orangemen have always had too much good sense to underestimate their opponents. They organized an unofficial militia, from men whom the turbulent times had already given ample training in faction fighting. Each of the Orange halls scattered up and down the county became, in effect, a little fort, with a more or less permanent garrison. Its drum served as an ever ready alarm, with which it could muster on short notice a large body of young, active men armed with stout hickory bludgeons. No body of militia could rally so quickly, or know so well, without being told, what was expected of them. Always ready for a fight, and zealous for a time-hallowed cause, they were well-nigh invincible, as the Reformers found to their cost. The five shillings paid by Tullamore L.O.L. No. 61 to Robert Whithers for the top of an axe—an expense following closely on 17s. 6½d. paid for whisky, “shegar”, candles, and powder on 5th November—may be connected with such activities.

Parties of this unofficial militia continued to break up Mackenzie's meetings, and seized the weapons of any of his supporters they could find. Learning that he had secured retired sergeants and corporals to drill reformers at various

strongly radical centres, they also gathered for training, and *From Brock to Currie* tells the story of the amazing preparations which were made by these simple, hard-working farmers of the future community of Peel. William Irvine of Orangedale captained one of the loyalist militia companies and may well have headed up the band of loyalists who raided the farm-stead of his supposedly disaffected brother, Charles, and confiscated all fire-arms.

Revolutionary preparations were undoubtedly under way, but it is certain that the reformers could command no such disciplined forces as rumour reported. The vigilance of Orangemen kept them from drilling openly and in any large numbers. Thus, despite government stupidity and inaction, the loyalists were, in the end, better prepared than their opponents. When the final crisis came, on that fateful December night when Mackenzie took his last mad step, Orange drums, throbbing all up and down Peel, called eager young men to the defence of their country.

A motley enough throng it was that answered. On horseback and on foot they came, armed with guns, axes, cudgels, even pitchforks. No match, indeed, for trained and disciplined troops, but well able to cope with rebels no better armed and equipped than themselves. While some of them scoured Peel to break up all possible rebel concentrations and confiscate what arms they could find, other bodies converged by different roads upon the capital.

Tullamore lodge minutes are dramatically silent in December, 1837. In 1835, L.O.L. No. 61 met Wednesdays on or before full moon, but in 1836 changed to Fridays. According to a record kept by their secretary, the moon was full on Monday, 11th December, 1837. Thus their meeting should have been on Friday the 8th. But on the 4th, the rebel concentration began at Montgomery's tavern, the clash came on Thursday, the 7th, and there is no entry of any kind for December in the minutes of L.O.L. No. 61. Its members were busy elsewhere.

In Toronto, the rebellion was crushed almost before it began; in Peel it was never permitted to break out at all. Much of the credit for the former and all the credit for the latter belong to the Orange Order. It may well have been that this body saved all Canada. If Mackenzie had been able

to set up a provisional government, backed by a victorious rebel force, and had called upon the United States to march in and take possession of the country, England might not have thought it worth another long-distance war to win back a colony of such turbulence and such apparently paltry worth.

When it became clear there would be fighting, the young militiaman, George Rutledge, was not to be left out of it. Before the unit of which he was sergeant could be formally summoned, he, with his cousin John from Streetsville, and a score of others like them, had volunteered for service under Lieutenant-Colonel James FitzGibbon, the hero of Beaver Dams. There is a story that George was on sentry duty outside the City Hall on the night the rebels marched against Toronto. If so, he must have been within a few paces of FitzGibbon when the colonel sent a slight, delicate-looking young man of about George Rutledge's age to alarm the city by ringing the bell of Upper Canada College.

In the crowd of half-dressed and more than half-hysterical civilian soldiers, that honour graduate of Upper Canada who volunteered to sound its tocsin stood out. The general panic brought on by cold, darkness, and suspense did not seem to touch this young Scottish protégé of Boulton and Spragge. A soldier's son, he was soon to become a captain in the third regiment of Queen's Rangers hastily gathered by Colonel Jarvis and was later to serve with distinction during the Fenian Raids. He was later to become a Grand Master of the Orange Order and to represent Peel several times during a brilliant political career, but he was never more in his element than on this first night of civil war. His young contemporary from the farm-lands of Toronto township sensed the latent power in him and in the confusion asked one of the York Orangemen who he was.

"He makes up his mind in a flash," George told his father later, describing his new acquaintance, "and then he carries you with him in spite of yourself. Other people get rattled, but he carries a level head through everything. The country'll hear of him one day, father, so remember his name—John Hillyard Cameron."

What became of Mackenzie's bold, futile enterprise, is too well known to require repetition here. The rebellion

failed. There was very little real fighting, not much bloodshed, no siege, no surrender. Only two men were killed, one on either side, though later, and not without some appearance of martyrdom, Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews were hanged as traitors. Mackenzie fled to the United States and his followers dispersed.

Peace did not follow immediately upon the almost farcical victory at Montgomery's Tavern. On 13th January, 1838, George Rutledge and his friends were still on duty and John Rutledge took a leading part in a meeting held at Hurontario church, Derry West "for the purpose of taking into consideration the situation of the families of such persons as are absent at present on the Frontier in defence of their country".

This meeting seemed to have been called by the Lieutenant-Governor to whom "for his benevolent intention" John Rutledge moved a vote of thanks, seconded by George Graham. Rutledge also seconded a resolution pledging the lives and property of "the loyal Inhabitants of Hurontario Street and its vicinity" whenever their "esteemed Lieutenant Governor" might require them. However, when it came to a pledge "to resist constitutionally the appointment of any persons to any office who heretofore have been arrayed with the enemies of this our adopted country", John's native tolerance asserted itself and he attempted to soften the uncompromising, unforgiving tone of the resolution. In vain. The natural resentment of the loyalists against those who had caused so much unnecessary hardship and anxiety hardened their hearts.

In spite of John Rutledge's questionable attitude on this point, he was asked to take the chair for a time at the end of the meeting while thanks were being returned to John Tilt who had previously conducted it. Furthermore it was on John's motion that an account of the proceedings was sent to the *Christian Guardian* and the *Patriot*, the former a paper which might not have occurred to the worthy members of the Church of England who made up a majority of the audience.

George Rutledge served with the rest of his unit at Chippawa and Navy island and returned to his home, but still the province was not at peace. Again and again through

the ensuing year, as told in *From Brock to Currie*, the militia had to rally to the colours and repulse border raids. In this series of engagements the Orangemen of the eastern part of the province were not inactive. Among officers named by the Lieutenant-Governor, as an emergency measure, to command provisional battalions, was Grand Master Ogle R. Gowan. The governor did not wait to consult these men before making the appointments. He relied "upon their loyalty to their Queen and their Country, to insure their services", and, in Gowan's case at least, his trust was amply justified. Inside of a few days after the proclamation, Lieutenant-Colonel Gowan had raised a militia company composed almost entirely of lodge members.

LOYALISTS TO YOUR DUTY.

Queens Royal Borderers.

COMMANDED BY LIEUT. COLONEL GOWAN.

**Wanted 400 Loyal Volunteers, for
the above Corps, for six months ser-
vice only**

**Each man will get 8 dollars boun-
ty, a new suit clothes, and a great
coat & pair of Boots, also a free
Gift of 100 lbs of Flour when dis-**

**charged of the six months
be one Shilling
 sterling Money, per DAY. and free
Rations.**

**Let no Man pretending to LOY-
ALTY HANGBACK, at this time.
FORWARD LADS, FORWARD.**

APPLY TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL GOWAN. AT BROCKVILLE

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

In November, 1838, Gowan took his company to suppress the activities of marauders crossing the border at Ogdensburg and raiding Canadian towns. It was by a party from his regiment that the brave old madman, Von Schoultz, was captured at Windmill point within a few miles of Gowan's home. In this fight Gowan was wounded,

and with the wound and the capture of Von Schoultz, his active military career came temporarily to an end.

Among the Peel Orangemen who served during the Rebellion of 1837 were Adamsons, Armstrongs, Barnharts, Bells, Chamberses, Cheynes, Coles, Cottons, Croziers, Dixons, Duggans, Grahams, Magraths, Odlums, and Pattersons. Thomas Brown Phillips of Grahamsville seems to have held a captaincy. George Crozier from County Tyrone, who in 1836 married Reverend Mr. Curey's daughter, served with his brother John C. in Captain Magrath's troop, where they must have fought side by side with Andrew Fleming, later Grand Secretary of British America.

William Johnston of Toronto township east and his sons, James and William Jr., placed their horses at the service of the government for transport of troops. In revenge, the rebels sacked the little shop wherein old Mr. Johnston made flint-lock muskets in addition to doing general blacksmithing and making carriages and farm machinery. Johnston's grandson, Alderman Frank M. Johnston, is a well-known Toronto Orangeman.

The Honourable Frank Oliver's grandfather, Francis Lundy, in whose tavern at Derry West the York County Lodge had met in 1834, rallied the Ulster-men of his district. The story of how the S O S from the city reached the Lundy homestead some miles north of Derry West and of how the call was spread to the settlements by the older Lundy children, has been told in *From Brock to Currie*. The news was received in late afternoon. The night was spent in casting all available lead into bullets. By daylight a substantial party of north-of-Ireland Protestants was on its way to Port Credit. The plan was to take a schooner for Toronto in case Dundas street should be occupied by the rebels. It is quite possible that George Rutledge accompanied this party.

By 1837 there were at least three Moores in the township, Robert of Orangedale, Samuel of Malton, and Charles of Derry West. All were Irish, all Orange, and all Presbyterian—possibly brothers or cousins, since the same Christian names run through all three families, although any record of such relationship has long since been buried "in the dim backward and abysm of time". Of these families, Robert, the son of Charles of Derry West, is known to have

served during the Rebellion. Subsequently he became master of L.O.L. No. 10 and was county master of West York in 1849. His sister, Letitia, married Allen Loughheed, also of No. 10, Grand Committee-man in the fifties. The Orange loyalty of the Moore family is not surprising. The father, Charles, throughout life carried his head a little on one side owing to a stiff neck, which misfortune he credited to "those damned Papists" as he had been taken for dead and left lying on the road after an encounter with them in Ireland.

Peter Turquand McCollum, then a dashing lieutenant of twenty-three, was destined to a long and useful service with the Peel militia, retiring to the Reserve in 1869 with the rank of major. He served as justice of the peace, and was county master of Peel in 1874 and 1875.

John Lindsay, an early master of Bolton L.O.L. No. 146, and his son James were another two loyal Orangemen. John's daughter long remembered how her father had mounted his white horse and ridden off through the bush, leaving his wife and little family crying with fright and loneliness. Major Lindsay's daughter, Isabella, was second wife of James Carberry, Jr., born in 1829. His father, James Carberry, had come to Canada from County Tyrone by way of New York; his mother was Margaret, daughter of George Graham.

Squire John Eakins (1814-92) from County Fermanagh, said to have helped organize Streetsville's first Orange lodge, served under "Laird" Paterson.

Samuel Price (later lieutenant colonel) was a captain in the militia unit in which his nephew, John, was a private. Both were active Orangemen, as were most of Captain Samuel's own sons, grandsons and grand-nephews, including John Charters Price, one of the first members of Cooksville L.O.L. No. 1181 and worshipful master for 12 or 15 years. It was in Captain Price's company, according to William Rutledge, that George Rutledge and Robert Moore served.

All these sacrifices were not in vain. At last rebellion was crushed, and the British connection freed from danger for thirty years. On 12th April, 1839, the Grand Lodge of County Antrim, a part of that skeletal organization in Ireland which the needs of the country had forced Orangemen to continue informally after national dissolution, took offi-

cial cognizance of the Orange contribution towards the suppression of Mackenzie's rebellion by addressing to the Grand Lodge of British America the following eulogy:

"Deserving as your conduct during the late rebellion in Canada is of the thanks of every loyal subject of this great Protestant Empire; we, the Orangemen of the County of Antrim, in the kingdom of Ireland, feel ourselves more particularly called on, to return you our grateful and heartfelt thanks, for the manner in which you have vindicated your name and character as Orangemen.

"Branded as traitors by our enemies, declared unworthy of trust and proscribed by our present government, nobly have you done your duty as loyal subjects to our lovely and beloved Queen, and boldly have you flung back the calumny in the teeth of the traitors who uttered it.

"Neglected by those who should have protected you, deserted by persons of hollow profession, and by timid friends, and driven from your country by a bloody persecution, you have nevertheless firmly adhered to your principles as Orangemen and Protestants.

"Your conduct, Brethren, has formed a bright page in the annals of Orangeism, and a glorious example have you set the Brethren of the Order in this kingdom, and putting our trust in God should we suffer a like trial, we will not be found wanting."



FRIENDS OF ULSTER N^o1688

CHAPTER VI

A BITTER AFTERMATH

*There was a time, when 'twas no crime,
To give the grateful thought its way;—
When none need shrink, who wish to drink
To the deeds of many a glorious day.
But Popish power in evil hour,
Has o'er us flung his galling chain;
Yet bide a wee, and you shall see,
How the Diamond will be trumps again.*

THE winter of 1838 passed with its grey days of cold weather and border warfare, and the first thaws and winds of 1839 began to turn men's thoughts towards spring. Orangemen who had shivered as they stood guard in borrowed overcoats, or stumbled through snow-banks in midnight forays, returned to the ways of peace. They were ready now to bury the hatchet. Rebellion was quelled, and reform was in the air. They set their houses in order, prepared for their spring ploughing, and began to dream of a record-breaking parade in the following summer.

They reckoned without their host. Now that they had pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for a weak-kneed government, their usefulness was ended. Orangemen have always been unflinchingly loyal, but they have never been servile, and Jacks in office, always anxious to extend and consolidate their power, have invariably looked upon them with distrust. They could now, the political log-rollers decided, be thrown to the lions that had thirsted so long for their blood.

Sir George Arthur, who in 1838 had succeeded the dilatory Head as Lieutenant-Governor, had written to Durham on 4th July, 1838, explaining that he was greatly embarrassed by the Orangemen, who felt insulted by levity of any kind. They were "fine brave fellows", he said, as indeed he could scarcely have failed to admit in that dark year of strife when most of them were under arms at one time or another in the service of their country. They were, however, in Arthur's opinion, under "very bad direction", and he intended to clip the wings of their leaders as soon as it could be done prudently.

The Roman Catholics seem to have sensed their oppor-

tunity and determined on a special effort. In March, 1839, they began an energetic drive to secure signatures to an anti-Orange petition. Mackenzie had accused the Orangemen of uniting with the Roman Catholics to defeat the Reformers, but the behaviour of the Romanists gives the lie to this. Even their finest minds and most generous personalities were found abetting the persecution of the Protestant association. That grand old man, Bishop Macdonell, urged the gallant Colonel Baldwin of The Gore of Toronto, who had already shown his efficiency in such work, to renew his efforts. Copies of the petition were sent to "all the missionaries of the diocese". These were to be signed by "all the Catholics & as many of the Protestants as can be persuaded".

"I can't understand your priests at all", John said one day to Jean du Petit Pont de la Haye, French master at Upper Canada College and farmer in The Gore of Toronto, whose daughter, Pauline Rosalie, was ere long to wed Angus Macdonell. "Last year your friend, Bishop Macdonell, was talking about 'having received from Orangemen unequivocal and substantial proofs of disinterested friendship and generosity of heart', and said we were as ready to meet his wishes and second his efforts to promote public good as were his co-religionists. We haven't changed; why has he?" But there was no answer.

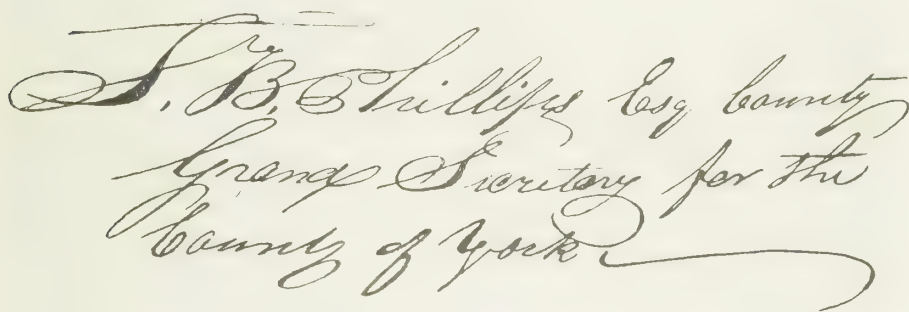
At Brockville on 11th June, 1839, resolutions reaffirming Orangemen's "unmixed loyalty" to the sovereign showed their independent attitude towards Tory aristocrats by insisting that this loyalty must not be "adopted for party purposes—nor molded to the taste of 'Clique' or 'Compact' in the Colony". The second resolution pointed out certain unfortunate errors in the Earl of Durham's report as "to the numbers of the Roman Catholic population in Upper Canada, and to the alleged hostility to Orangemen". Nevertheless, they agreed on the whole with his Lordship's statement and particularly recommended "thorough legal responsibility upon all matters of domestic Government".

In 1840 unsuccessful attempts were made by James R. Gowan and others to expunge those resolutions from the minutes. Finally, however, the words *Clique* and *Compact* were deleted. A resolution "that this meeting views with regret the principles advocated by the Grand Master, on the

subject of responsible government" was lost.

About this time, Arthur came out flat-footedly against the saviours of Upper Canada. He sent out a circular letter, based on instructions from England, and "adverting to violations of the Peace, which, on several occasions last year, were the consequence of certain Public Processions, on the 12th of July". These processions must inevitably, he suggested, produce discord and ill will. Instead, since all creeds and parties had, without distinction, shown "fidelity to the Government, and . . . firmness in subduing domestic as well as foreign enemies", they should now feel mutual kindness and respect. The Orange Association, he said, caused divisions which agitated the community unnecessarily. Similar societies in the Mother Country were now considered obsolete and generally dissolved. He appealed to the "good sense" and "correct principles" of Canadian Orangemen to follow that example. Finally, he instructed magistrates to use every conceivable means of discouraging further processions.

The consternation caused by this letter can be better imagined than described. Many of the magistrates addressed were themselves Orangemen. Some were afraid to speak their minds, but Thomas Brown Phillips of Grahamsville was made of stronger stuff. He was a loyalist of sterling qualities, but he had also been one of the first officers of his county Orange lodge. He was too honest to evade or ignore the Lieutenant-Governor's imputations, and too courageous to forsake his convictions.



T. B. Phillips Esq. County
Grand Secretary for the
County of York

Phillips's reply was couched in no uncertain terms. As a "loyal British subject" and magistrate he would naturally try to prevent any lawlessness. The complete prohibition of

processions was another matter. Loyal Orangemen might well feel a lasting resentment if theirs were the only celebrations forbidden. Sooner than enforce the new regulations, he tendered his resignation, not only as justice of the peace, but also as captain of the 7th Company, West York Militia.

Under the circumstances, Arthur could not do other than accept Phillips's resignation. He did so coldly enough. A purely formal letter from an underling expressed His Excellency's regret that, in a matter of such importance, Phillips should have felt obliged to take "a course so directly opposed to the views and wishes of the Imperial and Provincial Government".

Among his fellow Orangemen, however, Phillips did not lack enthusiastic approbation. Lodges everywhere were worked up to fever heat. The men of Toronto township and The Gore of Toronto, in particular, regarded Phillips as a hero of first magnitude. Resolutions of approbation flooded press and mails, and the whole-hearted rejoicing of Phillips's own Grahamsville lodge shook the rafters of Thomas Graham's old tavern, operated about this time by Phillips's brother-in-law, Andrew Graham, son of the founder.

Some aged veteran may have interjected an inharmonious note by asking whether loyal Orangemen ought to disagree with the governor, but John Rutledge could fly to the defence of his old friend from Enniskillen by bringing out a well-thumbed copy of Ogle R. Gowan's famous pamphlet of 1830 on responsible government. This was republished in 1839 and created no little stir throughout the province.

At the complimentary supper to Phillips, John would naturally offer to read a couple of passages from this treatise. The younger men would agree, so long as the passages were not too *dry*. Amid outbursts of hearty laughter, the refreshments would be passed once more, and John would be allowed to settle down to his pamphlet. He would commence with the passage pointing out that the Queen's Deputy was allowed to do more in Canada's capital than the Queen herself in England's, and that other paragraph, even more startling, to the effect that irresponsible government, far from being British, was "fallacious . . . republican and Yankee", since true Britons did not evade responsibility but solicited scrutiny of all their actions.



Specially painted for Perkins Bull Collection

OWEN STAPLES, O.S.A.

RUTLEDGE HOMESTEAD, BRODDYTOWN

Lot 14, concession 2 east, Toronto township



ETOBICOKE CREEK ON THE RUTLEDGE FARM

Showing swimming hole & on top bank, an abandoned cemetery.



IN GOD IS OUR TRUST--REJOICE AND FEAR NOT.

GRAND
Orange Lodge
OF
British North America.

Know all men by these presents, that our trusty and well-beloved Brother,
William Graydon
and his Successors, are hereby permitted to hold a Lodge, or Brotherly Society,
No. 263 to be held at *Toronto* in the District of *Toronto* and County
of *York* to consist of TRUE ORANGEMEN, and to act as Master, and
perform the requisite duties thereof.

GIVEN under our Hands and Seals, this *22nd* day of *August 1839*.

Chas. Brown Grand Master,
John Armstrong Grand Treasurer,
John Cook Grand Secretary,
Grand Chaplain,

Countersigned by

County Grand Master,



Courtesy L.O.L. No. 263, Streetsville

OLD WARRANT

Since accounts of Graydon's arrival in Streetsville vary, this warrant might suggest that he first settled in the recently renamed city of Toronto. If he held the warrant unused until he settled in Streetsville sometime in the forties, this would explain the non-appearance of No. 263 in York county minutes prior to 1847. Grand Lodge minutes of 1843, however, list Captain Wiggins of No. 157 Brampton, as district master of Toronto, and there is a reference about the same time to the breaking up of York district into rural and urban sections. This suggests an old Peel Orange district called "Toronto" which retained its name for several years after the incorporation of the city.

Armstrongs and Chamberses would be visitors on this occasion, from the little hewn log hall they had built with assistance from several of the ubiquitous Grahams, at Orangedale. They would congratulate their old friends and boon companions, and they would slap young George Rutledge on the back, and wink at his father as they rallied the boy on his approaching marriage to Catherine Nixon. John laughed with them to cover his secret pride. Although only twenty-two, his son was already recognized as a leader in the community, and his services during the recent rebellion lent lustre to his brief Orange career. Besides, was it not a fine thing in hard days like those for a man to be getting a wife who sympathized with his Orange convictions and would not always be grumbling for fear he might become embroiled with the authorities?

Orangemen needed courage in those days and they had plenty of it. Instead of dropping the idea of a procession in Toronto on 12th July, 1839, they showed their resentment of Arthur's unprovoked attack by making their parade, according to the *Christian Guardian*, "unusually large". Among the defiant marchers on this occasion, George Rutledge was one of the proud representatives of Toronto township.

Despite such defiance, rebellion had undoubtedly driven Orangemen to the right both religiously and politically. Even L.O.L. No. 5 which had started in the strongly Methodist community of Grahamsville seems to have seen the error of its ways, and transferred its sympathies to the Church of England. At any rate, in 1839 its master appended his name to a district resolution as follows:

"Agreed that any Orangeman who is a regular member of any lodge, who has signed the petition which is now in circulation against the Church of England having the Clergy Reserves is to come forward and lay a note and have it put in some of the public papers stating he done it through ignorance, and he does not wish to have his name to any such petition."

In the dearth of Canadian novels and plays picturing the Rebellion fully and vividly, as the Civil War is pictured by historical writers of the United States, it is difficult for modern Canadians to realize the legacy of bitterness that followed the struggle of 1837-8. It is an old story. Violent differences create distrust, distrust breeds fear, fear takes

refuge in anger, and anger fosters oppression. Their defeat had left the Reformers tingling with humiliation, and the victors rubbed salt in their wounds rather than oil and balm.

"I don't like the look of things in Caledon township", John said to his son one cold January evening in 1840. He had just returned from the revival services which John Law, that enthusiastic Wesleyan from dear old Fermanagh, was conducting so successfully on the Streetsville circuit. "Squire Monger was up from the Lake Shore road and William and I had a long talk with him after meeting. It seems Squire Bell and his friends are writing the new Governor-General. Not that His Excellency will listen to them, of course. But it all makes more bad feeling."

Whatever suspicions ran rife in the Home District, Monger seems to have retained the trust of everyone. He was a good Methodist, converted at the same camp-meeting at which Peter Jones, the famous Indian missionary, had seen the light. After the fashion of good Methodists, he could not get enough church services at his home appointment and often visited groups at some distance from Streetsville. Thus he had friends all over Toronto township and evidently far outside its limits.

There is no record that Monger was an Orangeman himself, but his son, Benjamin had married Leah Rutledge, Commodore Henry's second daughter, and John knew that he was a safe Tory. Still he took his politics more mildly and reasonably than some, and the most virulent Reformer feared no injustice at his hands. His fellow magistrate, George Bell of Caledon township, would thus have no hesitation in telling him of a projected complaint. Accordingly, in the draft petition, which has been preserved, Monger's name is included as one of those to whom Thompson might apply for confirmation of the charges.

The petition was certainly designed to cause trouble for someone. It begged for a new town meeting and that His Excellency would "descontenance & remove . . . the evil of Orange Institutions". It declared that Orange bullies scoured the country, searching houses without warrants, torturing children to make them tell where arms were hidden, "causing respectable females to cook their best provisions for them at the point of the bayonet", and generally

abusing and insulting their unwilling hosts with "the grating appellation of rebels".

Such marauders delighted especially to maltreat those differing from them in religion or in "the bigoted politics emanating from their midnight lodge sessions". Their intimidations kept dissenting elders from visiting the sick or dying, except in broad daylight. Victims could get no relief from an "imbesile" and illiterate magistracy, because they were afraid to complain, or if they did complain, the magistrates were afraid to act.

Behind the exaggerated bitterness of this petition lies a long story of personal and political antagonism. Prior to 1837 George Bell, Scottish Presbyterian Grit, seems to have been the leading spirit in the municipality. The township meeting of January, 1836, was held at his house; he acted as chairman and was one of three road commissioners. It can scarcely be by mere coincidence that the commissioners, who seem also to have met in Bell's house, found so much fault with Orangemen. In June they heard a complaint against Hugh Brewster, who often represented L.O.L. No. 185, Silver Creek, at county lodge meetings, for falsifying a list of taxable property by "omitting to insert therein an Ox contrary to the form of the Statute in such case made & provided". In December William Stubbs, another prominent Orangeman of the township, was charged with refusing to work on the roads, and the pathmaster was ordered to "see the same work done according to law", while the acting constable collected a fifteen-shilling fine.

This was the period of active Orange organization, and at the township meeting on 2nd January, 1837, that party seems to have gained control. Among new officials were the founders of two prominent Orange families. Captain William Willoughby had served during the Rebellion of 1837, and William Stubbs had been a member of his company. Their families were to work side by side for Orange, Protestant, and Conservative ideals during the next half-century, and were to split only during the Cardwell by-election of 1895. William Stubbs, son of the first William, then ran as a McCarthy Orange Conservative and defeated the regular party candidate, Captain William's grandson, christened Wentworth and known to his family and early friends as

"Went" despite the fact that he subsequently assumed the name "Wellington Bartley".

Willoughby acted as chairman of the 1837 meeting, and Stubbs, although he had refused to do his road work in the previous year, was now appointed, along with Hugh Brewster, among the squad of new pathmasters who displaced most of the old Reform officials. Furthermore, of £10 3s. 6d. on hand for roads at one meeting in the near future, £6 16s. was spent on the side line between lots 15 and 16, concession 1 east, adjoining Stubbs's own property, the commissioners being Henry Lemon and William Willoughby.

Bell's Scottish group thus ousted by the Orangemen had heretofore shown itself as strongly behind Mackenzie. Yet few of its members actually served in the insurgent forces as did some of the Albion Reformers, and their self-restraint may have been due largely to the check placed on them from outside. The Orangemen followed up their legal victory by carrying off most of the fire-arms in the township, although some particularly strong-minded individuals such as James MacDonald and Archibald McColl managed to keep theirs. The Reformers made an effort to rescue their artillery, but were foiled, as narrated in *From Brock to Currie*, by the strategy of Mrs. Stubbs.

"They're in a fine position to grumble," George would exclaim hotly to his father as he heard of their complaints. "Do they think we're going to have another rebellion on our hands? Too many concessions have been made already to men of that stamp. What they need up in Caledon is a firm hand such as we use here in Toronto township."

"It's different here," John would return. "We're all Orangemen together. Colonel Gowan says that we have a right to responsible government. As I see it, the Reformers took the wrong way of going after it, but they're British subjects, and there's no use in being too hard on them. You have to consider people's feelings. I think I'd better get hold of young Michael Crawford, and we'll have a little talk with some of the boys up there. We'll tell them to go easy for a while. No use of putting ourselves in the wrong."

John seems to have been in an excellent position to discuss things with Stubbs, for the latter hailed from John's old stamping-ground of Enniskillen, and his wife, as already

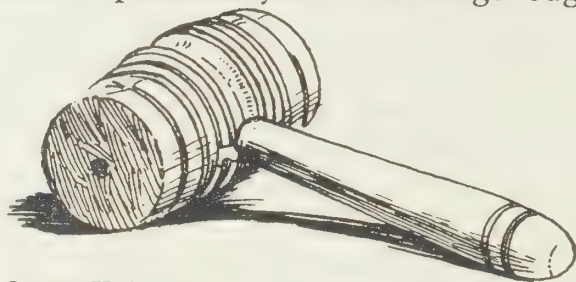
noted, may well have been a kinswoman, not only of the Caledon Rutledges who seem to have arrived about this time, but of John himself. In any case Stubbs was a good man to visit, for tavern licences granted intermittently during the forties show that he kept an inn where he could readily accommodate guests.

Unfortunately, John's efforts as intermediary were not crowned with success. The township meeting of 4th January, 1841, was even more aggressively Orange than that of 1840. It was held at Stubbs's inn, with Edward Stubbs as chairman, and Hugh Brewster, Edward Stubbs, and Sam Hamilton became town wardens. The means by which this end was accomplished are veiled in mystery, but they seem to have included more of the violent measures against which John had warned his friends.

On 6th April, 1841, witnesses in the case of the Queen versus Armstrong, Stubbs, and others, for riot included a number of the more obstreperous Reformers who had been given no voice in township proceedings since 1836. It would be helpful to learn the personnel of the jury which sentenced the four Stubbs brothers and two of their friends to short jail terms and fines. It is still more significant that in 1842 John Crichton, one of the witnesses at the Stubbs trial, acted as chairman of the township meeting at which Donald McQuarry and George Bell, two other prominent Reformers, became township councillors. At this meeting Edward Stubbs and Hugh Brewster disappeared from the list of township officials, and it was long before Orangeism in that township regained the political ascendancy it had lost through adopting the tactics of its opponents.

The Orangemen of Toronto township managed their post-Rebellion activities with considerably more skill and suavity. George Duggan the younger, who first represented the second riding of York in the united parliament of the Canadas, was a strong Orangeman. His appointment as lieutenant colonel of the militia in 1836 in place of James Small was called by the *Constitution* an Orange appointment. The masters of half the Orange lodges in Peel, together with John Rutledge and other veterans, were among the witnesses in his defence when his opponent, Colonel Baldwin, petitioned to have the election invalidated on the

grounds that Duggan's supporters had intimidated Baldwin's. Mother Hyde was among the petitioner's witnesses. Duggan's, who totalled some seventy-five, included: George L. Allen, merchant, Thomas Brown Phillips, John Rutledge, Sr., and his son-in-law, David Neelands, James Aikin or Aikins, James and Robert Cotton, John Tilt, Captain John Wiggins, William Gardiner, Francis Kent of Chinguacousy, the Beattys, Henry Cole, John Hewitt of Albion, and, indeed, masters of practically all the Orange lodges in Peel.



Courtesy W. J. Beatty

GAVEL USED BY JOHN BEATTY

Master of Dublin L.O.L. No. 76, Campbell's Cross, 1855

The legislature with a heavy preponderance of Reformers granted the petition and Duggan had to win his seat for a second time. A meeting held at Streetsville on 11th November, 1842, under the chairmanship of Colonel William Thompson, resolved that "persons in each township of the Riding, of respectability and sterling principles", should be appointed to secure the return of Duggan once more. For this township, Colonel Thompson acted south of Dundas street, associated with such prominent Orangemen as Wesley Watson and Robert Cotton. West of the Centre road, Henry Rutledge, Sr., was aided by James Crawford, John Barnhart, Sr., and others, while on the Centre road itself the committee consisted of the Wrights, John Tilt, James Graham, Sr., William Elliott, and John Rutledge.

Duggan was elected, but his first term in parliament must have brought him little satisfaction. Gowan was not in the House, and many others of his old Orange friends were missing. It was bad medicine to Duggan to see those against whom he had drawn his loyal sword a scant half dozen years before flaunting their triumph in the legislative halls of his country. The venerable Sir Charles Bagot outraged the feelings of the Queen and of both parties in England by calling

the opposition leaders, Robert Baldwin and Louis LaFontaine, to form a ministry when the Conservative administration formed by Sydenham proved unable to command a majority in the House. To Duggan and to his Orange supporters in Peel it must have seemed that the flood-gates of revolution had been opened at last, and by the hand of Her Majesty's own representative.

Even Sir Charles Metcalfe, Bagot's successor, who was an unflinching opponent of the Reformers, wrote to Lord Stanley, who was considered a friend of the Orange Order, lamenting conditions in Upper Canada:

"If a violent Conservative wishes to overawe a public Meeting or to carry an election, he collects a party of Orangemen, or Irish Protestants, armed with bludgeons."

Enemies of Orangeism were quick to seize their opportunity of rousing general ill feeling against it. The old agitation was renewed with, as before, Orange parades as the bone of contention. The Roman Catholic *Mirror* betrays the sentiments of its subscribers in its descriptions of the processions of 1842 and 1843. In the former year, according to its account, only two hundred marched—"chiefly . . . silly-looking old men, and some of the *fair sex*, together with a parcel of ragged boys. One of the drums was beaten by a '*Gemman of Colour*'". In the latter year, the parade was described as a "rabble consisting of silly men, brazen women, and dirty faced boys and girls".

There is no record of any parades in Peel in either of these years, although in the latter the *Mirror* carried a lurid and



J. W. BENGOUGH

THE BEST WAY TO END THE "PROCESSION" DIFFICULTY

Swords, shillelaghs, stones and pistols are dropped, and bygone feuds buried, as Orangemen & Hibernian march forward under a composite banner.

obviously partisan account of a sixty-year-old Liberal being attacked at Bolton's Mills (Bolton), "a place as infested with Orange scoundrels as Streetsville". He was "so dread-

fully beaten as to render him quite unequal to any work". The constable of the township did the beating. "All this occurred near the door of the Orange and only Magistrate of the Township."

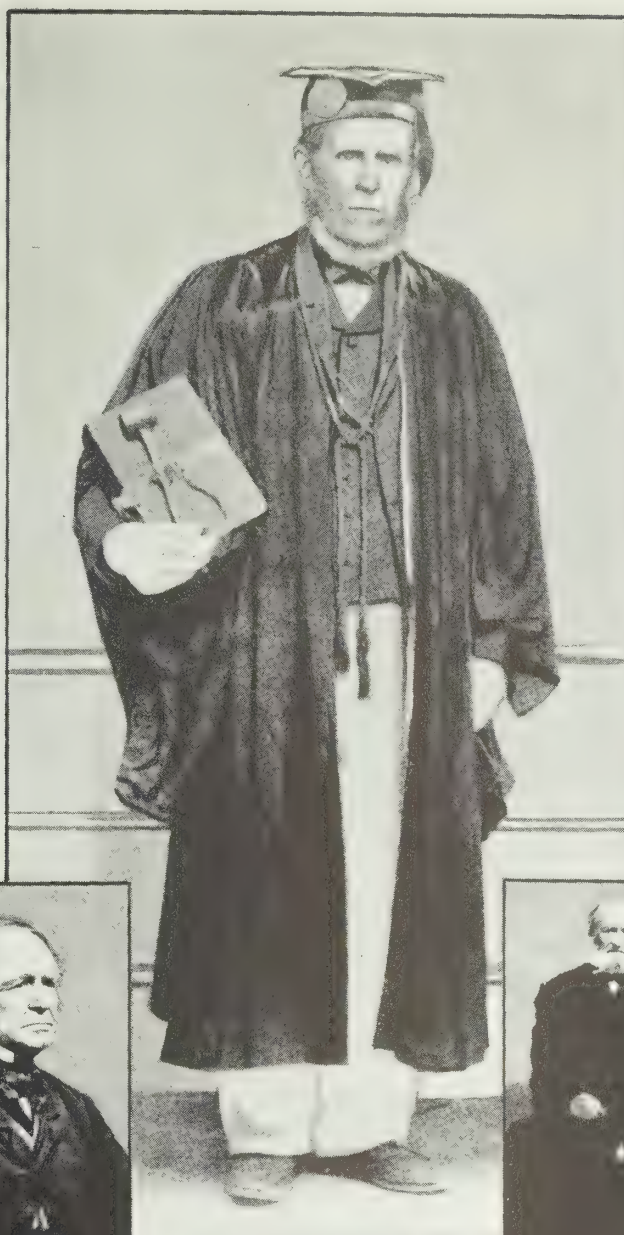
Metcalfé seems to have thought that by dint of gentle speeches and personal attentions he could tame the leaders of the Orange Order and reduce it to impotence. Thus, on 8th July, 1843, after he had had "personal conversations" with Ogle R. Gowan, he wrote smugly to Stanley:

"No Orange processions are, I understand to take place at Kingston . . . but they will I am informed in some places . . . it is most desirable that such causes of rivalry should cease to exist."

It would seem that Gowan and Metcalfé had had a "very long" and "strictly confidential" conversation, in the course of which Gowan suggested certain changes in the ministry, possibly as the price of obtaining the support of the Orange Order. In a letter to a confidential friend, Gowan told of dining at Government House and giving his views "*maturely and in writing*", on the next day. He continued:

"I have no doubt *my plan* has been approved, as the first person named in it by me in the long list of *shelving* and *shifting* (the Chief Justice) has already arrived at Head-Quarters—what the result may be it will take some time to tell, as a great deal of negotiation, and many removals are involved. Don't be surprised if Baldwin, Hincks, and Harrison '*walk*,' or that Cartwright succeeds the latter. This may all be done without offending the Radicals, and *without losing the interest of either of the three who retire!* This, to you, must appear a paradox, but it is so nevertheless. I have received in writing, marked 'Private,' His Excellency's thanks for my memorandum of plan."

Whatever support the Governor-General expected to gain by his tactics, he did not succeed in putting an end to Orange parades. If Metcalfé thought that by dining Gowan and wining him and sending him flattering personal letters, he could reduce the Grand Master of British America to a bowing flunkey, he was disappointed. Four days after he had addressed Stanley with much self-satisfaction, Gowan's Brockville cohorts paraded as usual. The customary vindictive accusations from the Roman Catholics accused the Brockville Orangemen of staging this public show in disregard of an expressed promise, which of course was absurd. They were particularly irritated because "a son of the Grand Master of the Orange Order beat the drum". They recog-



Michael Crawford



Thomas B. Phillips



John Melvin

Courtesy Miss Rena Bake, Mrs. J. H. Johnson & Mrs. S. Symondson



From private collection of Wm. Perkins Bull

STRAWBERRY LUSTRE PLAQUE
STAFFORDSHIRE JUG WITH ORANGE EMBLEMS

nized in this defiance a proof of fresh failure to allure from their allegiance those who had already shown they could not be intimidated. Indeed at this time, according to his granddaughter, Gowan refused "a high and lucrative position under the Crown" because it was conditional upon his surrendering all Orange office.

Courage and loyalty, however, were to prove no defence against a revengeful foe still smarting from the humiliation of political and military defeat and reinforced by a strong French Roman Catholic *bloc* from the Lower Province. The Reformers had a tremendous majority and why should they not use their power against those who had thwarted them in 1837. They would give the Orange Order its quietus once and for all.

On 9th October, 1843, after vainly urging the Governor to proscribe the Orangemen, Baldwin's government introduced two measures, the Party Processions Act, passed on 27th October, and the Secret Societies Act, passed on 4th November. By a majority of 55-13 the blind passion of the Reformers outlawed all secret associations save Free Masons, declaring members incapable of holding office or serving on juries, and depriving innkeepers of their licences if they admitted members to their premises. According to the *Cobourg Star* the final debate on the Secret Societies Bill was very riotous, lasting until between two and three in the morning.

"Half a dozen hon. members spoke at once while those who were more economical of their orating substituted a concert of whistling and whooping, that would not have disgraced Bartholomew Fair."

Reformers had even gone so far as to suggest that Sir Allan MacNab and Mr. Johnston be arrested as a result of their behaviour in the House, but had wisely refrained from pressing the matter.

Metcalf reserved the Secret Societies Bill for royal consideration, declaring later that it was "unexampled in British legislation" and this served further to inflame the government. Irritated also by the governor's lack of co-operation in their party patronage program—a matter on which Gowan's pamphlet, *Responsible Government*, and, indeed, the opinions of all good Orangemen, could but support Metcalf— the cabinet resigned in a body. On 9th December, parlia-

ment was prorogued and in the following year Tories, chiefly through Orange assistance, ousted the Reformers.

If the leaders of the country were thus excited, the state of mind of the rank and file can be imagined. The *Examiner* of 8th November, 1843, gives an account of one evening's sport which is summarized by Stephen Leacock in his story of Baldwin:

"At Toronto, for example, during the time when legislation in regard to secret societies was being discussed, an Orange mob gathered in the streets one November night, having amongst them a cart with a gibbet and effigies of Baldwin and Hincks placarded with the word 'Traitors,' which effigies were burnt during a scene of great confusion before the residence of Dr. Baldwin."

Peel Orangemen received the bad news with no better grace, and George Rutledge had a long talk about it with his friend Michael Crawford, at the annual supper and dance which had already become an institution of the 5th November in the Lake Shore lodge. Michael had remained in New York only a few years after his return in 1819. In 1823, he came north again with his father to the third line east, Toronto township. In 1834, he became township constable, and in 1835 married Sarah Ann, daughter of Wesley Watson, named for the famous Methodist reformer but life-long member of the Church of England and ardent Orangeman.

External evidence would suggest that it was in 1834, when Orange organization and preparation against Mackenzie were at their height, that the first lodge was organized at Port Credit. At any rate, Crawford appears to have been, from the beginning, one of its moving spirits, and his sons, Stephen and William, represented it on Grand Committee in the fifties.

James Polley, first master, who represented it at county lodge in 1834, must have been a rolling stone. Before his wife's death in 1838, he and Wesley Watson apparently tried to dispose of a Caledon township property inherited by her and her sister, Mrs. Thomas Ross, from their father, William Lancaster, but in 1842, Mrs. Polley's share passed to her son, John. Whether because legal complications resulted, or for some other reason, Polley seems to have left the district and, according to Mrs. Greig, finally settled in Wellington county. In 1846 the would-be purchaser of the Caledon property believed that Polley had been dead for some time,

but the family Bible has no record of this.

With Polley disappeared the original lake-shore warrant, No. 105, which was subsequently continued or revived in the Mount Olivet neighbourhood. The lake-shore people applied for a new one some time in the late thirties or early forties. The tradition is that under this warrant Michael Crawford was first master and William Kennedy, grandfather of Brigadier-General the Honourable T. L. Kennedy, first treasurer. Around 1851 a James Polley shared with Crawford and with Robert Polley, Crawford's nephew by marriage, the honour of representing L.O.L. No. 163 at county lodge.

Michael Crawford must have been a good friend of John Rutledge's for the two were both trustees of Bethany church, and their names appear together on a church deed in 1834. Although Salem Sunday-school was opened in 1838 and a few months after the opening George Rutledge became superintendent, the family continued to attend service at the more distant Bethany as well. Michael Crawford was also willing to take the long trek to Bethany with comparative regularity so that he kept in close touch with George and his father, and the younger Rutledge had been glad to take the opportunity of visiting Port Credit for his friend's annual jamboree.

At the same time, neither oysters nor fiddle music could soothe the hearts of irate Orangemen in 1843. "Those politicians make me sick," George told Michael. "If the croppies pelt us with rotten eggs, how can they expect us to smile meekly and turn the other cheek. They're the people that need to be prohibited, not the Orangemen."

Crawford was perhaps less impetuous in his utterance, but he agreed that the Party Processions Act was a grave mistake. So did Orangemen everywhere. It was important to show that Protestantism was still a force to be reckoned with. Men should know that the county had a large body of men devotedly loyal to British institutions and implacably hostile to any kind of tyranny, sacerdotal or otherwise. There was general agreement in the Association on this point. The only question was, how to give effective expression to their opinions.

Meanwhile, Orangemen took the lead in expressing to

the governor their support of his position regarding patronage. An address from the township of Toronto signed by W. Thompson and John Embleton dated at Streetsville, 1st January, 1844, states its belief,

"That the question then at issue between Your Excellency and your late Executive Councillors, fully and effectively involves the plain alternative of connection with or separation from the Mother Country."

An address from the entire second riding, signed at Chinguacousy, 17th February, 1844, by Thomas Wright, chairman, and B. Switzer, secretary, is equally emphatic.

"We cannot withhold from Your Excellency the expression of our condemnation and abhorrence at the policy of the late councillors, in their attempt to pervert and prostitute the great principles of responsible government to their own selfish and factious purposes, and which sneeringly stigmatizes loyalty (the grateful and natural principle of every honest subject) as a reproach, and charges upon the colonist as a total disqualification for office, and a stigma, that in the hour of his country's need he had been true to his allegiance and faithful to his sovereign."



CHAPTER VII
ORANGEMEN AT HOME

*Welcome! brother! to our band!
Welcome! brother! heart and hand!
True, together we will stand
Or together fall!*

THE early forties saw many changes among the early settlers of northern Toronto and Chinguacousy townships. Of these, the breaking up of John Rutledge's family was characteristic. In 1840 George had married his Catherine Nixon. Next year he bought part of his father's property and set up an independent home and hearth. By 1843 he was restless there and began looking for a new property, finding a good bargain in 1848.

Even Elizabeth, John's youngest, was married in 1840, and to a Scottish school-teacher, of all people, whose Orange affiliations were decidedly dubious. Moreover, young James Phillips had some notion of settling on a farm in Oxford county. Ere long he realized this dream and Elizabeth was lost to the family circle. While her husband lived, she attended the Church of England, but afterwards returned to Methodism; to her six sons she was always an ideal Christian mother.

In 1842 there came an even more serious break. On 24th April young Mrs. Neelands (Catherine Rutledge) was buried in Bethany cemetery, and her heart-broken husband soon left the county, taking with him five of John's adored grandchildren. John's brother Archibald moved into one of the newer northern townships about the same time—perhaps in the same party.

In the previous year, Jane Rutledge Orth's oldest son had died of scarlet fever, and in 1844 three-year-old Alice, namesake of Mrs. John Rutledge, followed him. As the years went by more little graves appeared in the Rutledge plot in Bethany cemetery. Jane's hair grew a trifle grey and her bright face saddened, yet she still spoke cheerfully and attended to all her domestic duties with unflagging care. The children of the neighbourhood loved her, and she often taught them in an informal fashion, letting them help her all

the while with her work—a lesson in simple courtesy and homely diligence as valuable, perhaps, as alphabet or multiplication tables.

As the forties saw the coming of age of the first generation born on the "New Settlements" of 1819-21, so they gave a breathing-space and opportunity for stock-taking in the Orange lodges which the new settlers had founded immediately upon their arrival. Because of the changes in membership and location which often resulted, this decade constitutes an unfortunate gap in the history of most local lodges. New parchment warrants issued about 1845 provided an extra complication. Old warrants were turned in and duplicates did not show original dates or locations. Minute-books were used up and thoughtlessly discarded, leaving only the information on the warrants to enlighten future generations as to early lodge history. The result was much confusion. Numerous lodges now believe themselves correct in dating their history only to the forties, when their parchment warrants were issued, whereas district, county, or grand lodge minutes or contemporary newspaper accounts show that they were actually in existence between five and fifteen years earlier. Parchment warrants were a great improvement, none the less, and but one of many advances made in this decade.

As another example of improved organization, it is interesting to note that in June, 1845, the old Orange county of York was divided into eastern and western sections for greater convenience in lodge activities. This is just the first of many cases in which the Orangemen set an example to the provincial legislature. In 1851 the townships of Toronto, The Gore of Toronto, Chinguacousy, Caledon, and Albion, were to become, for political purposes at least, the County of Peel. Some fifteen years later Peel was to be set apart for municipal and judicial purposes also.

There were strong men and famous men in the Orange Order in the forties as there have been at all periods in its life, and not the least strong and famous were to be found in Toronto township. Over in Streetsville, where John Rutledge used often to visit his kinsmen, there lived several outstanding men who were confident that the clouds gathered over the Order would soon pass. Commodore Henry Rutledge



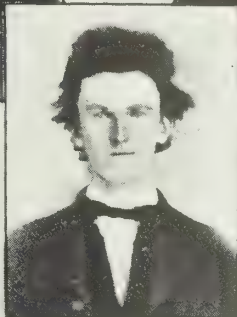
ANTHONY PHILLIPS
S. of Elizabeth Rutledge
and James Phillips



DR. JOHN R.
PHILLIPS



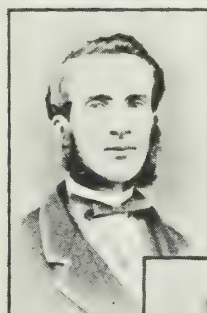
GEORGE PHILLIPS
S. of Elizabeth Rutledge
and James Phillips



WILLIAM PHILLIPS
S. of Elizabeth Rutledge
and James Phillips



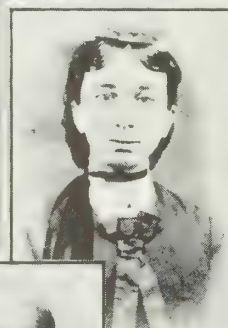
RICHARD PHILLIPS
and Wife



JOHN ALEXANDER
RUTLEDGE



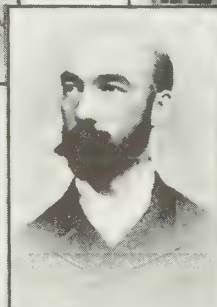
ELIZABETH
RUTLEDGE



ALICE
RUTLEDGE



ANNIE KAYE
RUTLEDGE



REV. GEO. NIXON
RUTLEDGE



JOHN NEELANDS
S. of Catherine
Rutledge and
Andrew Neelands



SUZANNAH
ORTH



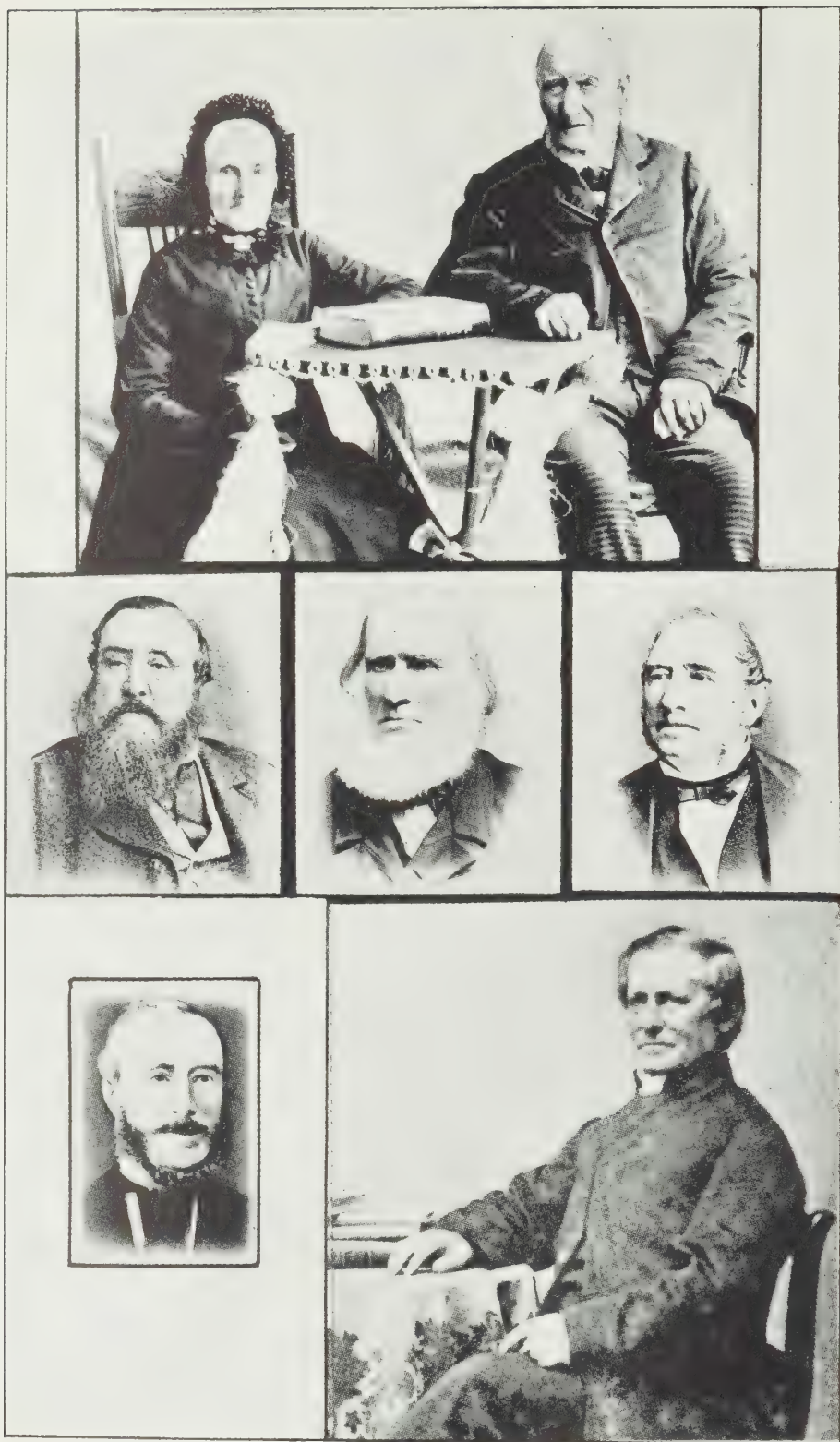
HANNAH
ORTH



ASRAHAM ORTH
and
JANE RUTLEDGE

Courtesy Rev. Geo. Nixon Rutledge & Mrs. Wesley Wright

DESCENDANTS OF JOHN RUTLEDGE



Courtesy T. H. Graham, Miss Bertha Dixie, Mrs. W. E. Brown, Miss Sarah Hodgson

PEEL REPRESENTATIVES IN GRAND LODGE OF BRITISH AMERICA

Top row: Mr. & Mrs. Thos. Graham; middle row: Dr. Beaumont Dixie, James Graham,
Dr. John Barnhart; bottom row: Capt. Robert Cotton, Rev. H. B. Osler.

was a member of the Grand Committee, and William was a leading member of George Lyttleton Allen's new lodge No. 290, the mastership of which he was soon to take over. Their friends were naturally men of wide influence and forceful character, for Streetsville was then, as remarked with pleasure by friends and with irritation by foes, a sort of hotbed and forcing-house for the Orange Order.

Doctor John Barnhart, also a Grand Committee-man, although still young, was already known as a brilliant surgeon and had served with the loyal militia during the Rebellion of 1837. He was to be connected with all the outstanding educational and political undertakings of the village and township, and was eventually to serve as the first warden of Peel.

Robert Cotton, who had come to Toronto township from Ireland in 1832, was already a prominent landowner. He operated his farm on the lines of an English estate, with plenty of help. In addition to his grain-fields he raised much stock, including horses, sheep, and hogs, as well as cattle. He ran a general store at the mouth of the Credit, trading with the Indians and buying grain from the settlers as far north as Orangeville for reshipment to Toronto and Oswego by water. No one could unwittingly pass by his property at the corner of the Middle and Centre roads, for he conducted a toll-gate there in true feudal style, charging five cents each time a carriage crossed. As he had a ninety-nine year lease on this part of the Centre road, his toll-gate was one of the last to survive in Western Ontario.

Other members of Grand Lodge whom John Rutledge might meet at William's or Henry's would be a certain militia captain, George Hawkins, the six-foot-two Streetsville auctioneer; George H. Lloyd, of L.O.L. No. 5, who acquired Alexander Cullen's licence in 1842 and kept tavern on the 6th line east, Toronto township; and Benjamin Switzer, J.P., store-keeper, loyalist militia officer, and son-in-law of Reverend William Nicholl.

George Lyttleton Allen, who has already been mentioned as a friend of William Rutledge, was now Grand Secretary of British America and was later to be Grand Master. According to Reverend John Bushell, Allen kept a Streetsville tavern, then became chief constable, and finally, in

1852, moved to Toronto and became governor of the gaol. He was apparently a brother of Archdeacon Allen of Millbrook and an uncle of Doctor Norman Allen of Toronto. Fifteen years younger than John Rutledge, Allen, now at the beginning of his Orange career, was a close friend of Lieutenant-Colonel Gowan, who was doubtless a frequent visitor in the little township village, then such a power in the land.

Robert and Edward Blevins from County Armagh living in Toronto, but with property in Peel, looked after by Robert Rutledge, who came out on the same ship with Robert Blevins, were frequent visitors to the county. They were members of Grand Committee in 1840 and the latter was Grand Secretary in 1843. Jane, Margaret, and Elizabeth, were Robert Blevins's three daughters. These ladies married Alexander, John C., and William, three sons of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Price, from County Antrim.

More interesting than any of these to John Rutledge, however, and one of the most colourful figures of the period, was Reverend R. J. Macgeorge, who reached Upper Canada in the autumn of 1841. This versatile clergyman edited not only Streetsville's first newspaper, but also the *Church*, and the *Anglo-American Magazine*. He likewise found time to write a farce, a drama, a lively book of prose, a collection of *Tales, Sketches and Lyrics*, and a more pretentious and serious affair called *The Canadian Guardian Offering*. He was a pungent critic of things military, economic, and political, and was active in all cultural and benevolent enterprises. Not content with looking after several missions of the Church of England in Peel, he sat on the Board of the first County Grammar School, and in general acted as the intellectual, moral, and spiritual Pooh-bah of Streetsville. Later he was to return to Scotland and become Dean of Oban.

In spite of the fact that John Rutledge himself had become attached to the Methodists, he remembered with affection the church of his fathers, to which most of the Streetsville Rutledges still adhered. He could not but be stimulated by contact with a personality like that of the 'Solomon' of Streetsville, especially when the latter was as ardent an Orangeman as he himself. In settling Macgeorge at Streetsville Strachan had written the church authorities in London,

England, that Streetsville and its neighbourhood contained "a great number of church people many of them Orangemen recently from Ireland, a class with which Mr. M. G. has been in the habit of dealing in Glasgow". The young Scottish parson within a half dozen years of his arrival became Chaplain of the Grand Lodge of British America.

Macgeorge used often to discuss with John Rutledge their mutual hopes and fears for the Orange Association. Neither was to see its final triumphant growth, its successful fight for incorporation, and its gradual acquisition of political power, but they saw it in mind's eye. They realized that it was bound to come, and it was on the faith and good works of such as they that its eventual success was built.

The disabilities under which Orangemen laboured in Upper Canada during the forties made progress elsewhere doubly thrilling to their hearts. John Rutledge would come back from Toronto exulting in news that a Grand Lodge operating in New Brunswick since 1837, and comprising lodges at work since 1825 on an old Hopper warrant and its dispensations, had been brought under the Grand Lodge of British America—a splendid intercolonial tie-up for the Order. A little later he brought back word that lodges were beginning to operate in Nova Scotia under the same authority, an independent Grand Lodge being formed after two years' work. When they heard these things, the men of Toronto township would look at each other more hopefully. The Order could not be killed after all. It lived on in spite of prohibitions and eventually it would be justified again in the eyes of all.



Particular rejoicing attended news of the revival of the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1845. Monster repeal meetings were being held throughout Ireland in 1843. The agitation to break up the union with England was waxing so strong that Protestants felt compelled to revive their old organization.

In the same year in which the Grand Lodge in Ireland was revived, the first purely civilian lodge was established in New South Wales, with the assistance of a mixed lodge operating since 1835 on a marching warrant. John and his friends were not to hear of this,

however, until Cousin William Rutledge went from Enniskillen to Newcastle, New South Wales, in 1859, to teach school. Cousin William was another assiduous Orangeman, and his correspondence with Canada inevitably sandwiched much Orange news between laments over his thwarted youth and complaints regarding his precarious financial status.

The enemies of the Order in Canada had hoped that the prohibition of processions would be a first step towards complete suppression. To that end they wrought unweariedly throughout the forties, but without success. Grand Lodge and local lodges did not discontinue. On the contrary, in many cases, members drew closer together in defence of their liberties. New lodges were organized and dormant ones were re-awakened. Orangeism became an integral part of community life, and children were brought up in Orange principles and rocked to sleep on Orange airs. In some homes where heretofore the Bible was alone, one would now find Orange songs and verses, one of which, as a veteran recalls, was an account of the siege of Londonderry beginning:

"Full many a cold and wintry night, and sultry summer's day,

Have passed and gone since James took flight, from Derry Walls away."

By this time there were a number of Orange halls scattered through Toronto township and the communities to the north of it. In time which they could ill spare from heavy and compelling labours on their own clearings, members had voluntarily cut and hauled the logs for these, and framed, raised, and finished the simple structures. It is a striking proof of their loyalty and enthusiasm that lodge halls had often been erected before pioneer homes had been really adequately completed and made comfortable for the growing families that they sheltered.

Built in this way, the Orange hall was an intimate part of the community life. Every family felt a sense of proprietorship in it. It was regarded as a social centre, and except on lodge nights was usually open to the settlers at large for entertainment or instruction. Its use was granted to militia officers for drill, to the Good Templars and other fraternal orders and temperance societies, to the Granges, and for church socials. Several halls were offered to bands for practice, and drums, which were lodge property, were

lent to the visitors. Trinity church, Streetsville, had services for a time in the Orange lodge rooms in that village, and the hall in Caledon village was used temporarily as a public school and loaned to the Reverend Mr. Knox to hold a 'protracted meeting'. The Tullamore Lodge appropriated ten dollars towards erecting a "Protestant Episcopal parsonage in this mission".

The only example of apparent selfishness on record is the refusal of one Peel lodge to allow its hall to be used for a singing school. This innovation was regarded with some suspicion, apparently, as a United States importation. It is probable that the Orangemen of Peel had no objection to musical instruction as such, but they might glower upon the teacher, especially if he were a wanderer from the United States, touched with an exaggerated idea of the glory of his own country, and perhaps slightly off colour in his theology. On another occasion, Bolton L.O.L. No. 146 was obliged to notify "an Evanglest . . . to give up possession of the hall".

Internally, lodges were remarkable for their true brotherliness. They began as little knots of settlers drawn from the immediate vicinity of the master's home, and were for years intensely local in membership and sentiment, only occasionally swept, through their connection with county and grand lodges, into the maelstrom of national politics. Every member knew every other intimately, together with every member of his family, the horses he drove, and the dog that followed his waggon. Much time was spent before and after meetings in discussing family affairs and purely local conditions. The lodge served as a men's club, and was naturally and deservedly popular.

Unless some local feud developed, lodges pursued their way in great peace and harmony. Elections were seldom exciting. It did not matter a great deal who held office, and once a man became master he was likely to be re-elected year after year until he died or moved away. For a long period, Caledon Lodge No. 250, for which the records are generally in excellent condition, practically dispensed with elections, contenting itself, instead, with an annual resolution that offices be continued in the same hands for the ensuing year. At last this practice became so common that it was difficult to abandon it, as witness minutes of an election night at Tulla-

more L.O.L. No. 61:

"The Worshipful Master rose to his feet and returned thank in a very Eloquent manner to the Brotheren for the many past favours they had conferred on him in Electing him there Master year after year and then left the chair. When it was proposed by John Little Junr & second by Bt. Munns that the Worshipful Master should resume his sate again, whereon he was unanimously Elected. he then resumed his sate amidst excited feelings of Joy and the Echo of three times three, after which he responded to in a very fraternal and feeling manner.

"The Depety then rose and returned thank to the Brotheren for the past favours conferred on him. And expressed his williness to serve again if the Brotheren thought proper to Elect him. He was then proposed by the Worshipfull Master & second by Brth. Munns. Brother I. Little was proposed & second and a sho of hands taken. The Deputy Master was returned and resumed his sate & returned thank to his voting Brotherin only".

A striking example of the intimate relationships existing among brother Orangemen is afforded by the important part the Graham family played in Lodge No. 5. The Treasurer's Book from 1837 to 1845 reveals the fact that 7 Grahams were members during these eight years, although the average membership does not seem ever to have much exceeded 50.

Because of the repetition of Christian names, it is impossible to place these with certainty, but a reasonable connection can be postulated for all save David. John was probably a son of the original Joseph, one of the four brother emigrants from Ireland, and Hugh was probably a brother of John. William may have been a son of Hugh and a grandson of Joseph, or he may have been a son of an older Hugh, who did not come to America. Thomas, the son of George, one of the original brother emigrants, was one of the founders of the lodge and was later master for forty years. James was probably this Thomas's brother, and George, initiated in January, 1839, was probably a son of the original Thomas.

These men cut an important figure in the lodge. James was a committee-man in 1840, and Hugh in 1841 and 1843. In 1842 George was foreman of a committee to decide on the conduct of members who had transgressed, and it was John who notified culprits of the decision. In the same year George and Hugh were appointed on a committee to investigate the non-attendance of members. Hugh and Thomas had a turn each as treasurer. And so it went.

Samuel Moore of County Tyrone, grocer at Malton and donor of land for Moore's church and cemetery, and his sons, Judson, Robert, and William, were members of L.O.L. No. 5. So was William Trueman, who married Samuel's daughter, Jane; also "Cheery" Armstrong's son Charlie of the Derry West hotel, who married Lily Moore.

Under such circumstances, it is little wonder that informal lodge records contained entries such as:

" 'Little Billy paid Old Cheery one Dollar for his dues and I received it and has marked it in his favour.' Joseph Armstrong."

Having like tastes and opinions, neighbourly kindness, and often ties of blood or marriage, early Orangemen were not likely to divide seriously, but when a real cleavage did crop up, the result was disastrous. The number eligible in any single pioneer community was strictly limited. A deadlock could not be broken by drawing upon new members when the only Protestants outside the fold were young boys, expelled Orangemen, or "black Grits". Thus the unhappy lodge was likely to collapse.

Unless some national, provincial, or local question of vital import to the Order was on the carpet, lodge meetings were chiefly for relaxation and amusement. For instance, Lodge No. 290 decided that an initiation would be a pleasant means of whiling away an evening. It was true that no candidate had presented himself, but they were not to be baulked by a little thing like that. They manufactured a sufficiently lifelike dummy and initiated him "in good Royal Arch style". It was observed that here at least was a candidate who could be trusted never to betray any secrets.

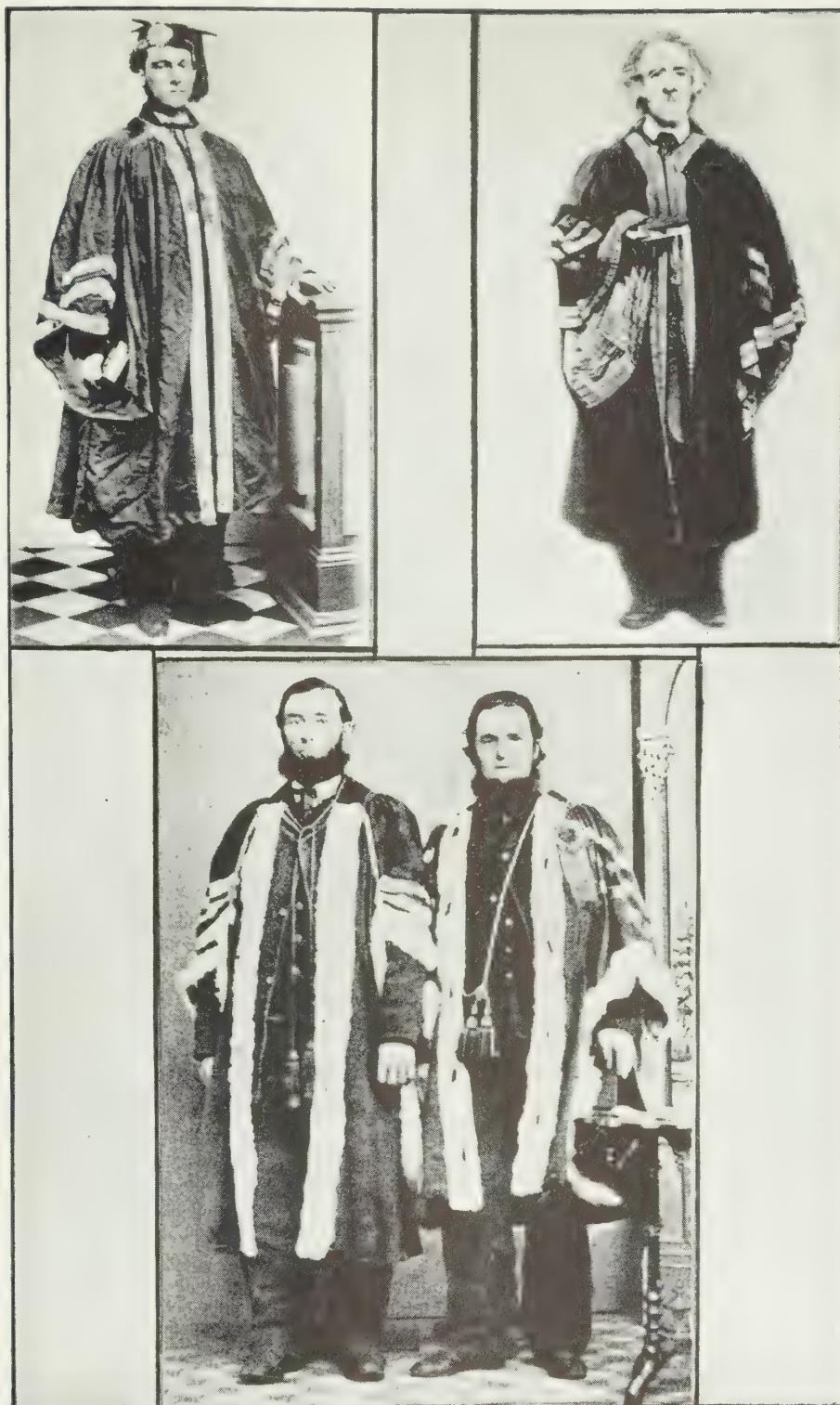
District and county meetings occurred more seldom and thus were conducted with a little more formality, but even here, except in times of public crisis, there seems to have been little pressure of business. Representatives generally gathered cosily in inns or big old farm kitchens. Early meeting places of York County Lodge indicate well these pioneer conditions. Francis Lundy's establishment, where the first recorded meeting was held, was a rough, one-storey building. Other favourite haunts included: Montgomery's tavern, on Dundas street, east of Islington; Auld Lang Syne

tavern, Toronto City; Thomas Graham's; Black Horse inn; George Lloyd's; Gardiner's, Brampton; John Rutledge's, Edmonton; Robert Yeoman's, 6th line, The Gore of Toronto; William Buffy's, Edmonton; William Acheson's, Sand Hill; George Evans's, The Gore of Toronto; A. Stewart's, Brampton; Garner's, Brampton; Richard Cook's, The Gore of Toronto. To these centres men gathered from a wide area, and they had all sorts of news to interchange and business to transact.

Refreshments were an important feature of every meeting, local or larger. The fare was not luxurious but it was plentiful. Brethren came with healthy country appetites, and had no objection to a few drinks. Minute books indicate that the usual provisions were biscuits, cheese, beer, and whisky. The liquids seem to have been in somewhat terrifying amounts, but, though the meetings might be hilarious, they were seldom riotous, for men leading a healthy, vigorous, outdoor existence can throw off an occasional over-indulgence very easily. Certainly there was no extravagance, for beer sold at about 5d. or 6d. a gallon and whisky from 1s. up. It was some years before prices went up to 15¢ a gallon for beer and 50¢ or 60¢ for whisky.

Feeling in the Order was against drunkenness, especially on 12th July, when temptation was strongest and shame of yielding greatest and most public. Eventually certain lodges completely prohibited drinking on lodge premises. Among these was Eldon Temperance L.O.L. No. 708, Meadowvale, organized in 1857 with Luther Cheyne as worshipful master, William Elliott as secretary, and Thomas Graham, who gave his name to the Graham House, Brampton, as treasurer. George Cheyne, the first deputy master, married, as his second wife, Eliza Coyne (1832-86). He was a J.P., a member of the Dominion Grange, vice-president of the Peel Pioneers, a director of the Peel Agricultural Society, and president and director of the Peel Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company.

Grand Lodge was strongly in accordance with regulations for preventing drunkenness and the Grand Masters' addresses through the forties and fifties frequently referred to them. After 1859, indeed, private lodges were forbidden to meet "in any room of a Hotel, Tavern, or Saloon". Such



Courtesy T. A. Nixon, Mrs. Chas. Armstrong & Miss Mary Price

EARLY PEEL ORANGEMEN

Above: Marlborough Nixon, George (Cheery) Armstrong; below: John C. Price & William Hawkins.



Specially painted for Perkins Bull Collection

W. FIRTH MacGREGOR

ORANGE HALL, CALEDON



Courtesy Miss Rose H. Barker

PALESTINE SCHOOL, 12TH JULY, 1866

Amelia Aikins, Minnie Baldock, Simmie Baldock, Annie Barker, Mrs. A. F. Campbell, Mary Cundill, Helen Irvine, Mary Irvine, Libbie Irvine, Eddie King, Elsie King, Annie Lewis, Willie Lewis, Norman McLeod, Willie Savage, Charlie Savage, Jemima Scollen, Jos. Wilson (others are Scollens, Cundills, Reids, Davises, & Wilsons). Teacher, A. F. Campbell; Trustees, Edward McBride & Edward (Ned) Grafton (both in Orange regalia).

wholesale action as that of the temperance lodges, however, could never become general. A Grand Committee on Correspondence had indeed eventually to remark that however valuable temperance lodges might be it was "clearly illegal and unconstitutional to attach a Temperance pledge to the Orange obligation".

Evidently there was sometimes a difference of opinion as to the exact border line between joviality and inebriation. One lodge found it necessary to pass a by-law that any member should be liable to fine if a majority of his fellows agreed that he had been "drunk or intoxicated" on the twelfth, whatever his personal opinion as to his condition.

In general, the forties were remarkable for gradual discipline of the more turbulent spirits. The account book of Lodge No. 5 for the years from 1837 to 1845 affords several examples. On 1st July, 1839, James Hamilton, who had been deputy master in the preceding year, brought in a complaint against John Rutledge's old friend, W—— I——, for "bad conduct on the Sabbath Day at a camp meeting". As a result, I—— was suspended for three months. He proved recalcitrant; his name at intervals appeared on lodge records for correction, and in 1861 he was suspended for three years for "getting drunk and falling off his horse". In October, 1839, it was complained that W—— McK—— had got drunk on the last 12th July. In November the culprit was fined five shillings for this offence, and five more for calling William Hathron a —— (the remark is illegible).

There were two Charles A——gs in the lodge. The "Charles A——g known as 'Irish' " was expelled early in 1842 for non-attendance in response to a summons dated 7th July (?), 1841, but was re-admitted on 4th October. The other Charles was less fortunate. On 6th June, 1842, he was tried on a charge of rioting and expelled for two years.

The G——es seem to have been another unruly family. William was tried for rioting, by the same committee which tried Charles A——g, but it was agreed that he continue a member as long as he behaved himself properly. If any improper conduct was observed, however, he was to go out at once. Evidently the strain proved too great. A month later he had to be expelled for two years, by order of the committee. In the same year, John G——e had what was delicately

described as a 'controversy' with Robert Trimble—probably a son of that Enniskillen Irishman who had settled on the east half of lot 5, concession 3, Chinguacousy west, in 1821—as a result of which John was expelled for life.

Occasionally more serious charges came up. In 1843, for instance, James L——g was expelled for life for theft. L——g had been initiated only two years before, when he was described as "nineteen years of age, a farmer by trade". He is not shown as owning any land in the district. Presumably he was only a hired hand and after his exposure left the neighbourhood. Such a fault was more distressing than drunkenness or rioting, which, after all, though regrettable, were inspired by generous and rather likable impulsiveness. Sabbath keeping was another Orange duty, and a member could also be expelled for felony, profanity, or "laying improper hands on a brother's wife".

With increasing solidarity and self-control, Orange lodges became ever more powerful factors in social and political life. They aided new comers in becoming habituated to the strange ways of the backwoods. They were friendly to religion. They encouraged education on broad lines, and much of the impulse leading to the foundation and extension of schools in Peel must be laid to their credit. Above all, they furnished trained leadership in local and provincial politics.

During the forties and fifties Orangemen were learning to spend more wisely. Streetsville accounts show a slight but consistent reduction in amounts spent in eating and drinking on 12th July, and an increasing effort to secure proper banners, regalia, and other permanent lodge paraphernalia. Better organization also governed relief of the needy—always a cardinal principle of Orangeism and reinforcing the fine generosity of the pioneers. Mutual help was essential in the 'bush'. Mishaps such as are bound to occur in unsettled lands and times are often rendered disastrous by lack of any authority competent to deal with them. But if an Orangeman fell ill or was injured, his brethren would put in his crop or harvest it for him. They would cut him a supply of fuel if it were winter, provide food or clothing for his wife and children, or assist in procuring what medical attention the times afforded.

Above all, Orange lodges took charge of funerals. This

was a natural Irish inheritance. Irish people, Protestants as well as Roman Catholics, seem always to have attached great importance to obsequies. In Peel, as elsewhere, Roman Catholic wakes were riotous affairs, and Orange funerals were perhaps emphasized to offset these.

In 1839 the District Lodge of Derry West resolved that in the event of a brother's death, the District Master should notify local masters of the date and place of interment. This notification was to have the same effect and power as a District Summons. Any lodge neglecting or refusing to attend was to be fined seven shillings and sixpence. It does not appear that any such fine was ever inflicted, but individual members sometimes failed in their duty and were treated with proper severity. Even the worshipful master himself was not exempt from the dire results of such defection.

Organization for attendance at funerals was at times quite elaborate. In the fifties, for instance, Albion district was sub-divided into three sections for funeral purposes,—one comprising Castlemore, Bolton, Cedar Mills, and Black Horse, the second, two Tullamore lodges, Sandhill, and Mono Road, and still another, Mono Mills, Caledon East, and Enniskillen.

Old account books are full of items connected with funerals. New crepe was continually being purchased, or old crepe mended and ironed. Sometimes coffins or headstones were bought, or conveyances hired to act as hearses. Then there were donations to bereaved families. Sums were usually small, but, given at a time when money was scarce and the mass of the people poor, they compare favourably with much larger amounts raised later.

Orange funerals are recorded in considerable detail, as for example one arranged by Caledon L.O.L. No. 250. This took place towards the end of the century, but is characteristic of the Order from the beginning.

"Proceeded to Bro. Jos. Warnock's where there was a large Crowd. A Company of Royal Canadian Volunteers and Six Lodges of the Loyal Orange Institution were very respectably represented. The funeral was very large, reaching a little more than a concession. Rev. A. McFaul preached a very impressive sermon in the Barn fitted up for the occasion.

"The usual solemn ceremonies took place at the Grave, both by the Orange Order and the Volunteers who fired three volleys over their comrade's grave. After which proceedings No. 250 proceed to the Hall at

Charleston, the Lodge still open. Bro. S. Warnock Jr., is buried about 8 feet E.N. and by E., of a gravestone erected to the memory of Walter John and Lydia Arkell at Charleston Burying Ground, Township of Caledon Ont. Lodge then closed in due form, disrobed and each went their way, not knowing who may be the next."

A note was made of the burial place of this twenty-three-year old Orangeman and a month later his body was exhumed and re-interred nearer the fence. The lodge later ordered a headstone from Orangeville.

Such sharing of joy and grief fostered a spirit of true brotherhood, which made early lodges particularly flexible in their financial arrangements. Apparently dues were sometimes paid in kind, for one well-intentioned Orangeman who was three years behind, paid two thirds of his dues in cordwood. A large proportion, even a majority, of lodge members were necessarily poor men, struggling hard to get upon their feet. Often they lived far apart. Primitive roads and means of communication prevented many from attending lodge with any frequency. Such members were absolved from regularity and their dues halved or reduced to a special sum payable annually before 12th July. One lodge remitted two men's arrears over a considerable period, and allowed them to continue as members with the simple stipulation that they should pay whatever they could afford each summer before the 'walk'. In short, any man of good character and good will was welcome. He might pay what he could, and the wealthier members of the lodge would somehow make up the deficiency.



CHAPTER VIII

TO MARCH OR NOT TO MARCH

*But now, alas! a wondrous change has come the nation o'er,
And worth and gallant services remembered are no more;
And crushed beneath oppression's weight, in chains of grief we lie;
But put your trust in God, my boys, and keep your powder dry.*

—COLONEL BLACKER

FROM the beginning it was obvious to high and low alike that any rigid enforcement of the Party Processions Act of 1843 would be difficult. Weaker spirits could always mask a parade as a picnic, dinner, or church service, to which members were proceeding in an innocent and, to all intents and purposes, accidental group. Many of those who should have enforced the law were sympathetic to the law-breakers. Finally certain lawyers with strong Orange sympathies opined that, as the Order was known to be loyal and to parade for patriotic motives only, the act did not apply to it.

Those charged with enforcement of the odious regulation, tried, first of all, by conciliatory negotiations, to secure the support of Orange leaders. As far as Gowan at least was concerned, they might have saved their breath. The Grand Master of the Orange Order had no mind for petty compromises, and was as jealous of the Order's honour as of his own. In March, 1844, he set an example of hot-headed Irish gallantry when he challenged Hincks, the well-known Reformer and late Inspector General, to a duel. Hincks had just started a Reform newspaper known as the *Pilot*, wherein, according to Leacock, a correspondent dealing with Her Majesty's refusal to replace her Whig ladies-in-waiting with Tories, had said:

"His [Sir Robert Peel's] demand was complied with, though Colonel Gowan *falsely* asserted the contrary at Kingston."

On 12th March, 1844, Gowan wrote Hincks demanding the name and address of the correspondent, and adding stiffly:

"Should you decline to accede to my demand, I beg you will refer me to a friend on your behalf to meet Captain Weatherly of this city, who will arrange a meeting between us."

Hincks explained that he was innocent of any intention to offend, the point at issue being the soundness of the argu-

ment, not the character of the man who offered it. Gowan, of course, was in the right, although Her Majesty subsequently conceded Peel's point by selecting her ladies from both parties without discrimination.

The months wore on and summer succeeded spring, yet still Sir Charles Metcalfe was governing without a ministry. Near the end of June, Draper, the most clear-headed of the old Compact party, visited Lower Canada and attempted, in vain, to secure French Canadian support "on any other than the impossible terms of the restoration of Baldwin and La-Fontaine". During that spring and summer, newspapers sprang up like mushrooms, a storm of pamphlets poured from the press of both parties, and electioneering was in full swing long before there was any chance of writs being issued. Eventually a ministry of sorts was secured, and Metcalfe dissolved parliament on 23rd September.

Party spirit has perhaps never been higher in the future province of Ontario than during the summer of 1844, and it is no wonder that the excitement reached fever pitch as 12th July approached. Would the Orangemen, who constituted the backbone of the Tory party, parade in defiance of the Act which the Reformers had used their "mere majority" in the House to pass?

It is surprising that the comments of the *Mirror* of 21st June did not call forth another challenge, as they imply that the Order had been dissolved. Describing a meeting of masters of the Orange Association in Hamilton a week before, the editor ascribes it to the need for "a General Organization" of the Association declared defunct not many months before by "the great Grand Master himself". If there was such a dissolution it was by a strange coincidence that the meeting of June, 1844, occurred at the time and place set in the previous year for the regular Grand Lodge meeting. Certainly there was no possible interpretation of the Party Processions Act under which the dissolution of the Order might seem a necessity. Indeed, as pointed out by a Grand Lodge resolution in 1845, dissolution at such a moment would have been a real catastrophe.

"In the present critical juncture of affairs when the functions of the Government have been openly assumed by a faction—when . . . Government is to be conducted by a party, through a party, and for a party; and that party consisting chiefly of those who, but a few years since,

either did not take up arms to defend the country, or with a guilty conscience wickedly raised them to overturn its laws and institutions—when the freedom of Election is publicly violated . . . when the loyal press is proscribed—when a faction, hitherto the most bitter, relentless and vindictive foes of the British Government have been warmed into life, importance and power by that Government; and those who shielded the British authority from their vile and wicked machinations, are sought to be trampled in the dust,—it solemnly behoves every loyal, liberal and consistent British Colonist . . . to protect his liberties, and to secure to posterity, the benefits and blessings of British Constitutional Liberty unimpaired.”

The point at issue was not whether or not lodges would continue, but whether or not they would continue to parade. Confronting this problem, the Right and Left branches of the Order, which had already made themselves manifest in embryo, soon sprang into full and florid maturity.

The Home District seems from the beginning to have sponsored direct action, and to have regarded the Party Processions Act as, to all intents and purposes, a dead letter. On the first twelfth after it was passed, the *Toronto Herald* noted that “some exceedingly indiscreet persons from the country”—presumably from Peel, since their lodges were most vigorously represented on such occasions—“must needs give themselves notoriety, by walking in procession”. While endeavouring to prevent this illegal march, Aldermen Dixon and Gurnett were, according to the *Christian Guardian*, “knocked down and trampled”.

Eventually magistrates and constables managed to arrest and jail nine of the more “riotous ring leaders”. When these were brought up for trial, their supporters created such a disturbance that the examination had to be postponed. Even at a subsequent hearing, when prisoners were properly guarded and the public excluded, the demonstrations outside were terrifying. All the Upper Canadian papers were full of the details of this open clash between Orangemen and officials, and even the Montreal *Canadien* carried a severe notice regarding it.

The election which took place in the late autumn of 1844 was even more turbulent than that of 1841. Baldwin’s attempt to have secret societies banned, and the Party Processions Act which he had managed to put through, made every Orangeman an election agent for the Metcalfe group. Even without this incentive, they would have stood by the

governor. The imperial connection seemed to be in danger. Some of the Reformers wished annexation to the United States; some, a Canadian republic. The French were still an unabsorbed leaven of unrest. It was all very well to talk of principles of government, but Orangemen were going to support the Queen's representative at all costs.

In the second riding of York, where Orangemen were particularly strong, Duggan was carried to a second triumphant success in spite of his pallid behaviour in the last House. The *Banner* later stated that Duggan had been accepted as a Conservative candidate (one of the early appearances of this party name in Canada) only on condition that he should not present himself again.

Among the new Conservative members, was a young lawyer from Kingston—an Orangeman, inevitably, or he could scarcely have been victorious in that stronghold of the Order—John A. Macdonald by name. At first he took little part in the fierce running fight of the day. Evidently he preferred to study, to reflect, and to prepare his plans for a campaign that would really count. Yet little by little, as his biographer points out, he was,

"Making himself familiar with parliamentary forms and business, and establishing a position for himself by assiduous attention to the ordinary duties of a member. . . . How strong a position he was making for himself soon became apparent."

During the next three years, while Draper handled the legislature with consummate political skill on an uncertain majority, a change seems to have taken place in the feeling of the Orange Order, as in that of the country at large. The wild enthusiasm which had attended the election of 1844 gradually ebbed. Orangemen must sometimes have wondered why they had been so eager to support a government which permitted the obnoxious Party Processions Act to remain in force. Many gave up hope of securing fair treatment by constitutional means, and the supine meekness of their leaders drove them to independent action which could not but endanger the unity of the Order.

Gowan knew how to handle such hot-heads, but unfortunately he was temporarily absent from Grand Lodge councils. In 1845 he appeared to be discouraged and anxious to give up office. Practically no warrants had been issued

since the proclamation of the Party Processions Act and Grand Lodge meetings were sparsely attended. During elections, Gowan left the hall and when, at the conclusion of "a very eloquent and feeling debate, which continued over two hours", he was asked to resume office, the deputation had difficulty in finding him. All other Grand officers had been elected before he returned.

Perhaps Gowan, noted for his hatred of compromise, disliked the resolutions passed in 1845 regarding parades. Grand Lodge regretted that any member should "have so far misconducted himself as to attempt public parade or exhibition contrary to the Law", and reminded brethren that it "must prove matter of deep and hurtful reproach" when the Law was violated by men whose "oath, principles and honour" bound them to obey. Only by "patience and moderation" could they avoid giving their enemies "any just cause or ground for calumny or slander". Grand Lodge cautioned and entreated the few who required this admonition not to bring reproach upon their brethren.

George Benjamin of Belleville was chairman of the committee on correspondence at this session and seems to have been a moving spirit. Being of loyalist family, who moved to New Orleans after the American Revolution, he emigrated to Canada at the time of the Louisiana Purchase, bringing with him his wife, Isabella Harris. He was first agent of the Bank of Montreal in Belleville, and is said to have carried on business correspondence with the Rothschilds. About 1830 or 1832 he established the *Daily Intelligencer* on which young Mackenzie Bowell, then about fourteen or sixteen, served as printer's devil. He was in the militia and held various municipal offices. He was affable and trusting, with an easy manner and meek spirit. Some of his enemies called him the Greenback Orangeman, because he insisted on recognizing all legal claims of the Roman Catholics.

He was fairly tall and corpulent, with an impressive appearance. Once when he came out of the old legislative buildings at Church and King streets, Toronto, Macdonald was waiting in a conveyance with one or two others and offered Benjamin a lift in the following words: "Come on, Ben, jam in", and the resultant crowding lent point to Mac-

donald's remark.

In 1846 Benjamin, supported by Carstairs, Reed, later Senator Reed, Fleming, and others, defeated Gowan as Grand Master. Confusion of some kind seems to have attended the change. On 19th August, 1846, the Cobourg *Star* reported:

"We have much satisfaction in being empowered to contradict upon authority, the reported resignation of this honourable office by George Benjamin, Esqr., the newly elected Incumbent, as stated in a late number of the *Brockville Statesman*. [Gowan's paper] The rumour, we are happy to understand, is altogether an erroneous one. At all events up to the present time certainly Mr. Benjamin has not *resigned*."

A week later Gowan wrote the editor of the *Star*, insisting that the *Statesman* had been right in regard to Benjamin's resignation. The editor of the *Star* returned that a leading member of the Orange Order, who was "a necessary recipient of information so vitally affecting its interests", had not heard of it. Nor, when he wrote to his brother officers in Toronto, composing the only legitimate body to which such a resignation could be addressed, had they any knowledge of the matter. "It remains for the principle parties concerned to set the matter straight."

Gowan must have voluntarily withdrawn from the Grand Mastership in 1846, as in view of his great popularity he could certainly not have been defeated, but it looks as though he had not considered Benjamin a suitable successor. This is understandable enough. Benjamin, although he had fine, solid qualities, was in no sense spectacular, and was essentially peaceable in all his undertakings. These qualities enabled him to do much valuable spade-work, the results of which were to appear in the fruit of later years, but they lost him the support of many of the more energetic members of the Order, and Gowan seems to have dropped all active participation in Grand Lodge affairs during Benjamin's term as Grand Master.

While the dragon's teeth of strife were thus being sown in the Orange Association, the Jason who was to restore peace was coming to the fore. John Hillyard Cameron was already an extensive landowner in Peel and was destined to represent that riding from 1861 to 1872 and the northern part of the county, in Cardwell, from 1872 until his death in 1876. He was now, in 1846, offered the post of Solicitor

General, and a seat was found for him in Cornwall.

This son of Angus Cameron, officer and gentleman, of the 79th Cameron Highlanders, had been born at Beaucaire, Languedoc, France, on 14th April, 1817, and had come to Upper Canada with his parents in 1825. Yet his Scottish descent was a controlling factor in his character and conduct, and was amusingly recalled by his political foes, who, encountering his Orange cohorts on the hustings or at the polling booths, were wont to hum ruefully to themselves that old Scottish ditty, *The March of the Cameron Men*.

Though not above average height, slight and delicate looking in youth, and later inclined to corpulence, Cameron had an imposing presence, and his high forehead and dark, deep-set eyes imparted to his countenance a look of intelligence and kindliness. He was a shrewd politician too, and Draper, in a memorandum to the Governor General regarding the post of Solicitor General, spoke of him as a "gentleman of great legal eminence, considerable talent, and irreproachable character". He was not yet an Orangeman, but his parliamentary experience was soon to show him the value of the Order in helping to hold back the swirling floods of reckless and ill-judged reform.

While Cameron was thus gaining parliamentary experience and learning something of the Orange Order, Benjamin was attempting to consolidate Orangeism in the Maritime colonies. Some accounts say he went east in 1847, others say in 1848. Both may be correct. The Centenary *Sentinel*, however, refers specifically to minutes of the Grand Lodge of New Brunswick for 27th July, 1847, when the Grand Master of British America was present at an emergency meeting. He "reasoned with them re the result of their unconstitutional methods", their antiquated rules and ritual, and their lack of co-operation with central authority. He,

"Endeavoured to get them to agree on a greater measure of unity for the future . . . remained in Saint John for a few days, getting better acquainted with the individual Orangemen, and did his best to allay any ill feelings or dissatisfaction . . . overcoming the opposition, and bringing matters to a fairly satisfactory conclusion, leaving for home well satisfied with the result of his visit, and feeling confident that everything would go along more harmoniously."

Benjamin did not serve the Order without personal

hazard. He was Registrar of the County of Hastings, and his enemies criticized him as a public servant for,

"Meddling with that, which although it may not be in violation with the avowed principles of the Government that none of its officers shall meddle with politics, yet . . . is violating a principle fraught with much more serious consequences; even that of breaking a law of that government in which he is an amenable servant."

Nevertheless, Orangemen must have read with pleasure that he was taking measures "for the organization of all the Orange Lodges in British North America into a united body under one Grand Lodge".

Meanwhile, after a brief tenure by Lord Cathcart, the government of Canada had been placed by the new British Liberal ministry in the hands of Lord Elgin, a young and vigorous man, recently married to Durham's daughter, and whole-heartedly in sympathy with Durham's views on Canadian affairs. Soon after Elgin's arrival, the ministry set up by Draper for Lord Metcalfe had been reconstructed, but even with drastic changes had proven impotent. Elgin dissolved parliament in December, 1847, setting the date of election for January. Reformers dominated the new House, Gowan lost his seat, and George Wright, who ran in Duggan's stead in the second riding of York, was unsuccessful. The Conservatives retired gracefully to the opposition, where they waged brilliant guerilla warfare under the leadership of the faithful old die-hard, Sir Allan MacNab, and the rising young genius from Kingston, John A. Macdonald.

In spite of such political disappointments, the Orangemen of British America had good cause to congratulate themselves in 1848. An address to the Queen was drafted by Grand Lodge in June. Orangemen had intentionally expressed no opinion on Irish politics, especially the possible repeal of the Union, since they could not actually influence affairs, but they were obliged to deny current imputations by Roman Catholics that their fifty thousand loyal members sanctioned the repeal agitation. According to the editor of the *Church*, Her Majesty's response showed "that the constitutional loyalty of this important body is better appreciated by the Sovereign and her advisers, than it is by the Legislative authorities of this Colony". Later in the year Orangemen were delighted to learn that a rebellion in Ireland had been put down chiefly by the efforts of their fellow

members there.

In 1849 Benjamin was re-elected unanimously as Grand Master, in spite of the expressed desire of some of the members for the reappointment of Gowan of Brockville—though “without the sanction and against the wishes of the gentleman himself”. Evidently the executive work of the Order was running smoothly, for in 1850 Grand Lodge, meeting in Hamilton, attributed the great gains of the Association to members’ attention to business. According to the *Patriot*:

“During the past year, the labours of George Benjamin, Esq., G.M. for the welfare and advancement of the Institution, have been very great; and his zeal for its interests, and his exertions to place it on an eminence, where its enemies cannot reach it, were rewarded by his unanimous reappointment . . . so enthusiastic was the feeling that he was not even permitted to vacate his seat.”

One of the early Orange periodicals in this country—perhaps the earliest, if we except Gowan’s newspapers, which were not ostensibly Orange organs—was the *Orange Lily*, which appeared in Bytown (Ottawa) about this time. No copies of this paper seem to be extant, but according to a note in the *Church* in 1849, it was to appear semi-monthly, “to advocate and support ‘the Protestant faith’” and “to be devoted to the interests of that important body, the Orangemen of British North America”. This paper persisted some years at least, as it was given a contract for printing Grand Lodge minutes in 1854.

Orangemen needed public support in 1848 and 1849, if ever. Press extracts in the *Christian Guardian* of those years show that Gowan lost his position as supervisor of tolls on the St. Lawrence canals and was removed from his command in the second battalion, Leeds militia—obviously the work of that same Reform majority which passed the Rebellion Losses Bill.

At Drummondville in 1851, Benjamin was once more re-elected, and this year of office was to see a signal triumph. Throughout his term, the attitude of Grand Lodge towards the Party Processions Act had been all that could be desired by the nicest critic. There had been no official connivance at parades. Any violent attacks upon the legislation had been made by members in their private capacities rather than by the Order as a whole. Grand Lodge had contented

itself with "long, temperate, and well written" petitions to the Governor General complaining of the "tyrannical operation" of the measure which they claimed applied exclusively to Orangemen. Without such patient, persistent effort, it is unlikely that the antagonism to the Order would ever have been worn down far enough to permit the repeal of the offensive enactment, which was now so soon to be achieved.

In this final accomplishment, however, the more aggressive measures of Left wing Orangemen doubtless played an important part. Among these, the Orangemen of York were outstanding and had perhaps the ablest leadership. Throughout the operation of the Party Processions Act, parades were held in York and in all the townships of the future county of Peel. At one district lodge meeting in 1847, when James Ashfield timidly retired from the chair during a discussion of plans for a monster procession, Gowan's friend, Richard Dempsey, assumed the vacant place. Nine of the twelve city lodges paraded in 1850, together with a "small lodge from the country". It is said that only a minority of the members turned out, but their military bearing served to remind legislators of the services of Orangemen in the past and the danger which might accrue in the future from continued repression.

At any rate, a petition submitted on 20th June, 1851, by Benjamin, as Grand Master of the Lodge of British America, was received by the legislature with unwonted affability and was ordered printed for use of members. Success seemed imminent, and Grand Lodge was especially anxious not to jeopardize its chances by an illegal parade. Benjamin made the strongest possible appeal to the Orangemen of York, for that year of all years, to celebrate quietly at home. To no avail. Several hundred members walked as usual, "accompanied by a number of bands". The evening was devoted to banquets and speeches in honour of the occasion and the celebration was, according to an historian writing later in the *Evening Telegram*, "one of the most striking in the history of the Order". Nor were there any unfortunate results. On 16th July, Boulton, member for Toronto, brought in the desired bill. The third reading was seconded by Macdonald and the bill was passed by a major-



Courtesy The *Daily Star*, Toronto

THE TOWN HALL, BRAMPTON, BEING REMODELLED FOR THE
ORANGE ORDER



Courtesy Lex Schrag

EARLY ORANGE HALL, BRAMPTON

Used about 1850 by L.O.L. No. 157 & later by L.O.L. No. 10.



Specially painted for Perkins Bull Collection

W. FIRTH MacGREGOR

KING WILLIAM'S TREE

Lot 17, concession 8, The Gore of Toronto, N D

ity of 38-16. The relief measure was supported by a number of Reformers, among them Joseph Curran Morrison representing Peel.

The year 1851 was eventful in the history of Orangism for reasons other than the repeal of the Party Processions Act. The resignation of Baldwin and LaFontaine paved the way for the *débâcle* of the Reform party, the rise of the Clear Grits, and the growth of the new Liberal Conservatism under Sir John A. Macdonald. In the general election which followed their resignation, the *Globe* noted that "Mr. Gowan, the rejected of Leeds", might "be brought forward for the Second Riding [of York, i.e. Peel] in opposition to Mr. Morrison". Although Gowan rejected this opportunity, he discontinued the Brockville *Statesman* and moved to York, where, for some years, he edited the *Patriot*. This paper, started by Thomas Dalton in Kingston in 1828 and moved to York in 1832, was now perhaps the leading Conservative journal in Upper Canada, and a staunch supporter of the Church of England. Dalton's widow continued it for eight years after his death in 1840; then, according to Samuel Thompson, it was bought by Lieutenant-Colonel Edward George O'Brien, father of Lieutenant-Colonel William E. O'Brien, M.P., and prominent Orangeman. Some evidence suggests that Gowan assumed management of the weekly in 1849, taking over the daily from Thompson in 1853. Others have it that Gowan did not become connected with the weekly until 1853. The *Patriot* continued until 1864, when it was absorbed by the *Leader*, also published by O'Brien.

In spite of their failure to secure Gowan as a candidate, John Rutledge and his friends were successful in the election of 1851, chiefly as the result of a split among their opponents. The *Globe* of 20th December speaks bitterly of the county having been lost to the Reform cause by the efforts of the *Examiner*, the Clear Grit organ. That group, according to the *Globe*, set up a Mr. Graham of Chinguacousy as its candidate, "a convert to Reform principles three weeks old, who had been an Orangeman and whose friends were of that class". Evidently the Orangemen did not support Graham, however, but turned out loyally in support of the party which, even in opposition, had been able to obtain for them their long desired relief.

The rejoicing over the repeal of the Party Processions Act seems, in Peel at least, to have been as exaggerated as though each Orangeman had been personally freed from some prolonged penance. Busy as the rural communities must have been, this exuberant joy inevitably expressed itself in gatherings of old-timers, of which not the least stirring must have been that of John Rutledge and his friends. History does not record whether it took place at Grahamsville, Derry West, Streetsville, or Brampton—it may even have been held at Orangedale just south of Fraser's Corners, where by this time there was a substantial settlement of Grahams, Irvines, and Broddys—but some such county reunion there must have been.

Almost all the Rutledges would be there, inevitably. Foremost among these would be John's George, now a prosperous farmer. George could scarcely fail to delight the company by detailing the precocity of his last child, William, born the year before and already up to all sorts of amusing pranks. Near George would be Commodore Henry, capping each one of the younger man's anecdotes with two or three even more startling tales of his own throng of grandchildren. William Noble, the Commodore's eldest son, who had a fine job in a large mercantile business in Port Perry, might manage a visit; also several of his other boys. Christopher Rutledge, Henry's brother, would be present, too, and many others whom John himself knew only vaguely.

The Verners, if present, would have interesting stories to tell. They crossed from Enniskillen to Montreal in 1843, taking thirteen weeks for the journey. James brought his wife, his three daughters, and three sons, John, James, and George. Through Thomas, the eldest, a clergyman who remained in Ireland, the Verners were in constant touch with their kindred who had played so large a part in Orange history in Counties Tyrone, Derry, and Fermanagh. They knew what was going on at home and they knew it with a wealth of intimate detail.

Over the biscuits and cheese that night, James would doubtless describe the terrible affair at Dolly's Brae two years before, about which one of his friends had written him. An old Irish witch named Dolly had lived at the foot

of a small but steep hill on Castlewellan road, County Down, about the time of the Battle of the Diamond, when John was a slip of a lad. She was a religious fanatic, and one day when her madness was on her she pronounced a terrible curse upon any Roman Catholic who should allow an Orange parade to cross the foot of her hill. The superstitious people of the neighbourhood respected her curse for a good many years, and it was an understood thing that on 12th July, lodges should avoid that particular stretch of roadway.

This particular year, however, Lord Roden, who lived at Castlewellan, had invited the Orangemen of the district to celebrate at his estate. It seemed stupid to spoil a harmless excursion for the sake of an old legend, and the Orangemen decided to take the route across Dolly's Brae. Although cavalry and infantry, as well as police, were called out to prevent trouble, there was a riot during the homeward journey, and Dolly's curse fell with a vengeance on her own people. A nervous Ribbonman among the Roman Catholics at the top of Dolly's hill pressed the trigger of his musket. One of the parading Orangemen fell to the ground with a shot in his hip. A furious and bloody battle followed.

"Things might have gone from bad to worse," declared Verner, "had not the troops and the police come at last to the rescue of the Catholics."

The only pity was that Lord Roden and William Beers had lost their commissions as justices of the peace through the affair. How were they to blame? After all, if free Orangemen could not march where they liked in their own country for fear of offending a few villagers who believed in an old witch's curse, things were coming to a pretty pass indeed. Such nonsense would not be tolerated by Orangemen here.

Someone with a perverted sense of humour would give an unhallowed chuckle at this point. "No siree," he would say, "we know how to put the fear of the Lord into them." Then he would tell gleefully of the Montreal riots in 1849. It is possible that some of his fellow guests would second him in his applause for the mob which had rotten-egged the Governor and burned the Parliament Buildings. Most of the Orangemen of Peel, however, would agree with the *London Times* in describing Elgin's most uncompromising

opponents as "nothing more or less than the old 'family compact' turned out of doors, and become by this time rather out at elbows, and ravenously hungry".

"It was not the Orangemen who were responsible for those riots," the County Master, Robert Moore, told his fellow lodge members. "Not but what they would have had a right to create a disturbance, for a more iniquitous piece of legislation never disfigured the statute books of any country. Paying people for rebellion, that's what it was. The very idea was ridiculous, and if that's what Responsible Government means, how could any good Orangeman support it? But we won't support rioters either."

"That's not our way of working," John Rutledge would agree decidedly. "However most of us may feel about the Rebellion Losses Bill, you would never find any Orangeman setting himself up in opposition to constituted authority—especially the King's own representative. It was the Romanists who were responsible for that outrage anyway, I haven't a doubt."

Then the conversation would turn to pleasanter subjects. A visitor from Mono Mills might tell how the Orange hall had been the first public building erected in their village. The very heart of their community life it was—a hewn log building about eighteen feet by forty, with two doors and four heavily shuttered windows, seating accommodation for about fifty men and, above all, a mighty flag-pole.

After the Mono Mills delegation had been properly praised and others had described their lodge halls at even greater length, someone might ask John Rutledge or Benjamin Switzer about this British American League that had been organized at Montreal a couple of years before. Rutledge would explain that Switzer had been a member of the executive committee and that both the Grand Master and the Past Grand Master were members, as well as several of their own Peel friends there present—Francis Campbell, James Smith, and others.

Gowan, indeed, seems to have been one of the leaders, as the *Picton Sun* calls him "head man amongst them" when they met at Kingston. There he made several long speeches "about the grievances of the country, and the extravagance

of the Reform administration". It was at this meeting that some joker had raised a Yankee flag over the City Hall where the League was in session. The Tories had accused the Reformers of the insult and the Annexationists had accused the Orangemen, but that the suggestion thus conveyed was a base slander all most whole-heartedly agreed.

"You mustn't think the British American League has anything to do with those Montreal people who signed the annexation manifesto the same year," Switzer would remind his hearers, in recounting the incident. "There may have been some Tories who did sign that, but they were not Orangemen. Those sour-natured Loyalists, more likely, who were Yankees before they came to this country, and lose their temper if they can't run the place to suit themselves. Permanent connection with England is one of the four main things that the British American League stands for. We want protection for home industries and we want economy in public expenditure. What's more, we want political union of the North American colonies, like the union that we have already established in the Orange Order."

"Tell them what you said to Macdonald," John Rutledge would urge his friend, and then it would come out that Switzer, when talking to the young Kingston politician, had been stressing that very argument by analogy with Orangeism. Someone would ask whether Macdonald was an Orangeman.

"Has been for years," replied Switzer. "A member of Grand Committee in 1847." On the whole, however, Macdonald evidently preferred a back seat in the training-ground of both Orange Order and British American League, and saved his ammunition for the actual battle-field of politics. His very appearance, however, was already considered an important accession to strength, and the enthusiasm of Switzer's listeners would redouble as they heard the story.

"Macdonald is with us for Confederation anyway," he would emphasize. "If any one can bring it about, he can."

As a matter of fact, George Duggan, former Peel representative in the legislature, moved one resolution regarding Confederation, but here already Macdonald was a supporter of the scheme. Everyone knows how magnificently

he was later to achieve the purpose to which he had there declared his allegiance, an end well worth the eighteen years of distasteful and often disheartening political struggle through which it was won.

"Times change," Samuel Warnock, a man already on in middle life, would remind his friends at this point, "and we must change with them." Then he would turn them from future to past by recalling many glorious events in the history of the Order, not only during his experience as a master in Caledon township, but also in the old days when he had held similar positions in Ireland. Allan Maxwell and Thomas Lundy, who had already 28 and 31 years of Orange service respectively to their credit, and who were to live into their eighties and to retain their Orange allegiance to the last, also told great stories.

Henry Kerr, a valiant Orangeman with an aptitude for science, might have something to say about the electromagnetic machine which he was working on and which was subsequently to win a prize at the Provincial Exhibition. If so, he had a sympathetic audience for—counting all the variant spellings of the name, Kerr, Karr, Carr, and Kerk—there must have been present nearly as many of his close or distant kin as there were of the Rutledges.

It had been hoped that Gowan could be present at this reunion. It could not be. He was much preoccupied with his new journalistic venture, and with settling himself into the Orange life of his new home. Thus he was obliged to send his apologies. His old friend, George Lyttleton Allen, must have been there, however, for in the early fifties he was still representing Streetsville at county lodge meetings. Michael Crawford, who was to become county master in 1854 and to hold the position until 1870, was another and younger friend of Gowan's who was doubtless present. Both spoke in the highest terms of the man whom they considered not only "the father and founder of the Orange Association in Canada" but also, "whichever way you looked at him, a great man". Their sole wish and hope was that he could be induced to resume his old position in Grand Lodge activities and lead them on to ever greater triumphs.

One or two isolated Benjamin supporters in the group might attempt a protest at this point, and John would

change the subject hastily by addressing one of the Odlums, whose direct ancestors had been with King William at the Battle of the Boyne. He asked for a ruling on some disputed point of William's campaign, and soon all the hounds were off on this new scent. Odlum was unable to give any definite information, but admitted that his family had many traditions of the Prince of Orange, to whose memory they possessed, apparently, an almost fanatical loyalty.

One of the stories he told that night dealt with King William's tree, a giant elm which the first Canadian Odlum had planted in The Gore of Toronto in July, 1831. A son had promised never to let anyone cut this down. Several years later the younger Odlum heard that the surveyor's office had ordered it removed because it stood in the middle of the cross-roads. To prevent this he drove nails all around the trunk.

"There is not much chance of anyone cutting it down now," said the speaker. "It is like the Orange Order. Free at last from all serious threats, it should flourish and grow greater and finer from year to year."



CHAPTER IX

A RIFT IN THE LUTE

*With transports of joy they respond to the call,
Oh! tell me their numbers—I can't count them all;
But from Hamilton, Whitby, and Brantford they came,
One thousand brave men, in William's great name;
And next came those heroes who gained their renown
In making at Slabtown the Croppies lie down.*

J. B. DAVIS

DURING the year after repeal of the Party Processions Act, the demand for Gowan to resume the Grand Mastership—a desire already, according to local tradition, voiced informally at a Peel celebration—became general throughout the Orange Order. Strong loyalties were involved and equally strong antipathies. A born organizer, impulsive and dominant, some of his would-be rivals seem to have considered Gowan arbitrary and intolerant. Certainly, like his sons, he lacked interest in business detail and failed to realize its full importance. On the other hand, he was unflagging in the maintenance of lodge spirit, with an amazing flair for arousing and maintaining interest. He possessed the large, creative imagination which is a requisite of the initiator in any field—military, political, economic, or what you will.

Benjamin, less dangerous and less unpredictable, was proportionately less captivating to the imagination. He was at his best as a peacemaker, pouring oil on the creaking machinery in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick or offering up fervent prayers to an estranged parliament. He would never have defied a law, or fought a duel, or staged a riot to get his own way. He could never have started the Grand Lodge of British America; it is improbable that he could ever have started any big progressive movement. For days of repression he may have been a safer leader than Gowan, but with returning freedom the Orangemen longed, like the Ithacan sailors, for the old Odysseus who could lead them through the arch of new experience into that,

“ . . . untravelled world whose margin fades
Forever and forever” as we move.

As George Rutledge remarked to his father, “Say what

you like about Gowan, he's a real leader. None of your namby-pamby sitting on the fence for him."

"I was talking to Richard Dempsey the last time I was in York," John replied. "They are going to have Gowan back very soon by hook or by crook. No one else can really put the Roman Catholics in their place."

Not many weeks after his removal to Toronto in the latter part of 1851, Gowan had become a member of L.O.L. No. 137. By June, 1852, he was thoroughly at home in Toronto Orange circles, and Richard Dempsey proposed him as Grand Master of British America, at the same time strongly censuring Benjamin's conduct in the position. Benjamin was re-elected, but the rift in the Institution was to increase in a year's time until it threatened the harmony of a continent.

A serious decision was made on this occasion by Benjamin. Robert Polley was present as proxy for Lake Shore L.O.L. No. 163 (Port Credit), of which Michael Crawford, county master, was the actual head. Benjamin decided that Polley could not vote when Crawford was present—motivated, his enemies declared, by a desire to avoid giving two votes to a community where his rival for the Grand Mastership was so greatly loved and admired. This decision was a year later to be adduced against him to justify the disallowance of an entire group of Eastern proxies who were among Benjamin's strong supporters.

Gowan was not the sort of man to be discouraged by his rejection in June, 1852. A month later, after the annual parade, he addressed the Orangemen of Toronto and its vicinity. Richard Dempsey was with him. It is notable that on this occasion the clergy were represented, not by Grand Chaplain Macgeorge, but by Deputy Chaplain Meyerhoffer. Macgeorge was a strong Benjamin supporter, but Meyerhoffer had been seen, during the past decade, among the great group who hungered for the return of Gowan.

This was, according to the *Church*, a special occasion, to which large deputations rallied from various parts of Canada West. The procession was nearly two miles long and took nearly half an hour to pass into University avenue. First came the chief marshal, mounted on a grey charger, and wearing a scarlet gown, cap, and plume. Then came a

brass band, a fife and drum band, the Union Jack, a Tyler with drawn sword, the Grand Masters of York County East and West, the District Master of Toronto, the Grand Flag, the Grand Officers, visiting lodges, and finally city lodges led by No. 4. Eight mounted marshals kept the procession in order.

It was an exciting day for visitors. Cooksville and Streetsville bands were among six specially mentioned. At the Cricket Grounds, where speeches were delivered, the grandstand was "densely crowded with ladies". The Hamilton deputation got into a riot on the way home, when one of the attacking party was shot and others were wounded, but on the whole "the Orangemen behaved with great moderation". "The Port Credit and Bro. Crawford's Division" were among the guests.

"The largest Orange County in Canada" was active not only in the south, but in Albion and Caledon townships as well. The lodges from Alton, Melville, Charleston, and Silver Creek were doubtless among the ten which paraded in 1852 at Orangeville. These, according to the *Patriot*,

"Met in the village about eleven o'clock, A.M., formed in procession, and proceeded slowly about a quarter of a mile to the west of the village and then returned, when about two hundred partook of a good substantial dinner, served in a bowe-erected [sic] for the occasion by Mr. Adam R. Robinson. Of about 2,400 persons present, not a small portion belonged to the fair sex of this village and its vicinity. Between two and three o'clock, P.M., a truly appropriate sermon was preached by the Rev. R. Parsons, which was followed by an eloquent address delivered by Orange Lawrence, Esquire, owner of the village . . ."

It seems to have been about this time that Port Credit Orangemen built a lodge hall on the south-west corner of lot 9, concession 2 south of Dundas street. Within these walls they continued to hold their justly famous 5th November dances. These were regarded as great occasions, and the women of the community ordered their frocks from Toronto months in advance. One of the features of the evening was always the opening of the ball by two of the Crawford children—little Mary Margaret and her brother James, aged about seven and ten respectively.

Gowan himself was a frequent visitor in this community, which was quite accessible now that he was living in Toronto. Whenever he came he found time to call upon



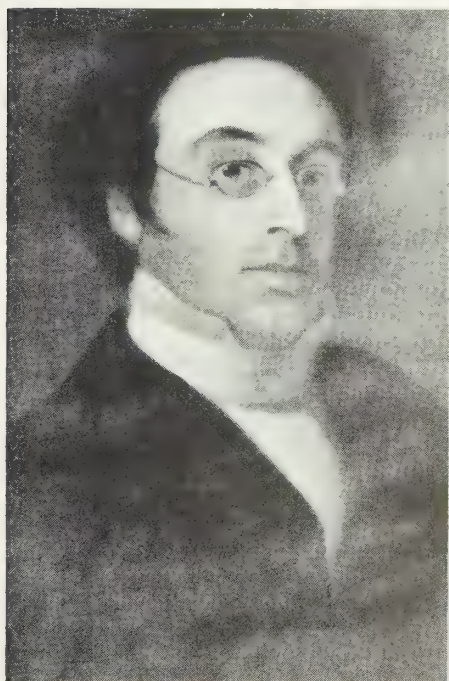
Courtesy John Ross Robertson Collection

GEORGE LYTTLETON ALLEN



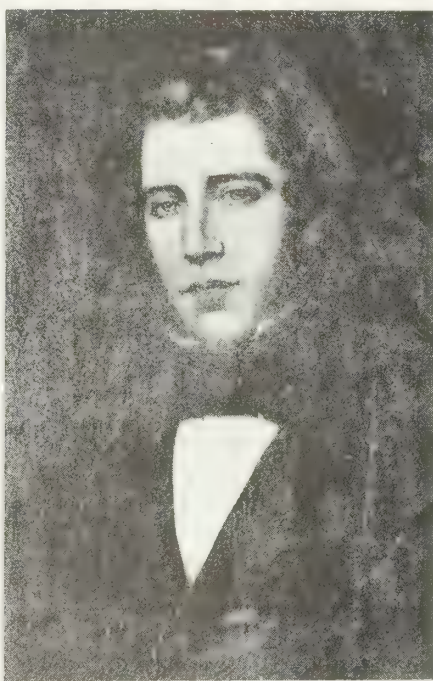
Courtesy The Very Rev. G. Preston Tonge, Oban,
Scotland

REV. R. J. MACGEORGE



Courtesy Geo. C. Benjamin

GEORGE BENJAMIN



Courtesy H. J. Hamilton

JOHN FLANIGAN

TO **LIEUT.-COLONEL COLLE ROBERT GOWAN,**

Of the Queen's Royal Borderers, for Twenty-seven Years a Member of the Canadian Parliament, and for Twenty Years
Right Worshipful Grand Master of the Grand Orange Lodge of Canada.



*Honourable Sir, Gallant Colonel and
Right Worshipful Brother*

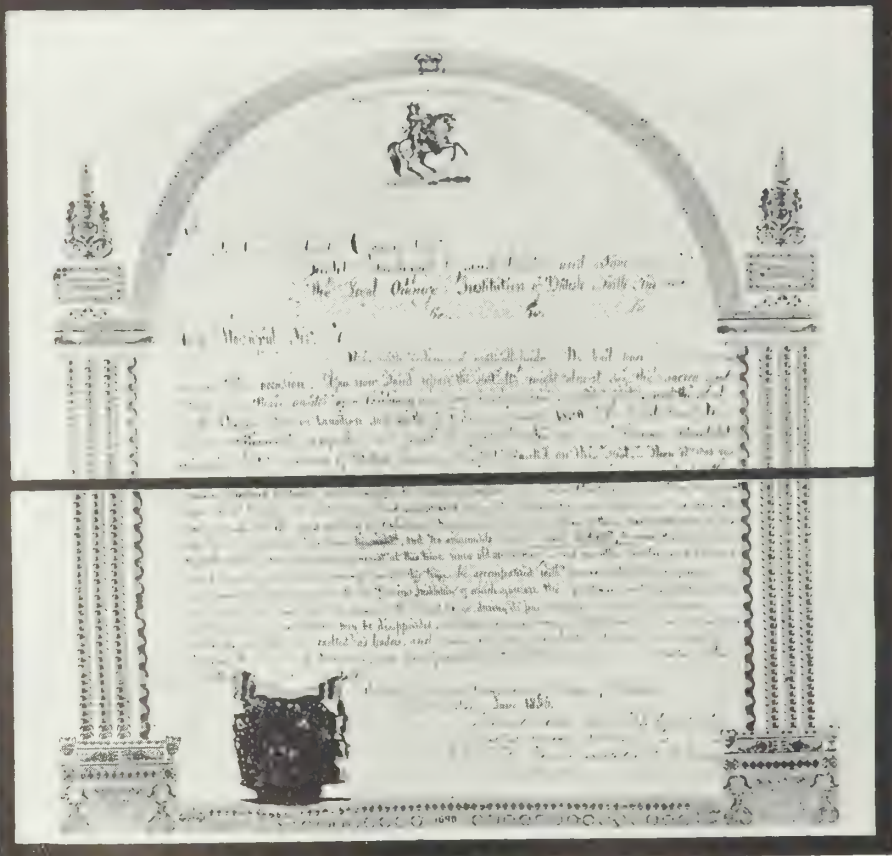
as long as Britain remains faithful to these great Protestant principles which seated the House of Hanover on
the throne of the British Empire, which principles are briefly expressed in the memorable and emphatic words
of our Glorious Deliverer, William the Third, Prince of Orange, viz.—“The Protestant Religion and the
of England I will maintain,” and which, we trust, you, Honourable Gallant Sir, Right Worshipful
Beloved Brother, and our Brethren of the Canadian Provinces, will continue, in God's strength, to main-

TO SCOTLAND.

... name of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, Honourable Sir, Gallant Colonel
you with this Address, and wish you God speed

John Lamb, Esq. M.P. for the County of York

July, 1801



Courtesy Mrs. Annie J. Ferguson-Burke

FROM ADDRESSES TO GOWAN

Michael Crawford's venerable father-in-law, Wesley Watson. With this gentleman he would conduct a courtly, if emphatic argument somewhat as follows:

Mr. Watson: I was the first Orangeman in these parts, sir.

Col. Gowan: You were not, sir.

Mr. Watson: I should know whether I was or not. I tell you, sir, I was.

Col. Gowan: But I would have you know, sir, that I myself was the first Orangeman in these parts.

Mr. Watson: I beg your pardon, sir, but you are a liar, sir.

And Gowan would smile at the irascible old gentleman and be silent.

Gowan had made a spectacular reappearance in 1852. All that remained to be done was to re-establish him in his proper place at the head of the Association. His friends came to Grand Lodge in 1853 with all their plans laid to bring about this happy consummation. The brethren of the compromise party had shown equal foresight by coming prepared for a struggle, and the moment elections came up, the fat was in the fire.

The row began over the right of certain proxies to vote. As these were chiefly Benjamin supporters and their elimination would swing the election to Gowan, both parties fought every inch of the way. It is difficult to make out from the highly coloured and naturally prejudiced accounts of the day exactly what did happen. Benjamin and his supporters claim that there was "clamour and interruption", that the Grand Master's rulings were not obeyed, and that the Grand Secretary refused to carry out his orders. The supporters of Gowan declare that the Grand Master had left the chair, as had the Deputy Grand Master, and that Richard Dempsey, the Junior Deputy Grand Master, had charge. It looks as though this party had out-manceuvred its opponents by waiting to bring up the proxy question after the Grand Master had left the chair for the election. At any rate, the Benjamin group retired, leaving the session in the hands of the Gowan men.

This might fairly be considered an admission of defeat, and was, from Benjamin's point of view, a fatal blunder. Gowan was elected Grand Master by members who chose to remain at a properly summoned session of Grand Lodge

under the chairmanship of a properly qualified official. The Benjaminites were beaten for the time being, and they should have had the common sense to recognize it.

Unfortunately, in moments of great emotional tension and violent anger, common sense is forgotten. Instead of going quietly to their homes and beginning to sharpen their weapons for the next year's fight or, better still, sinking their differences in a shallow cup with their opponents at the nearest tavern, Benjamin and his followers reassembled outside the building and held an indignation meeting. The evening was damp and uncomfortable. Someone said, "Let's go back into the hall." Accordingly, back they went, to stage a miniature revolution and to set up very real barricades. Michael Crawford applied for admission but was told by the Tyler that the meeting was private.

"A fine state of affairs," Orangemen of Peel grumbled to each other as they jogged back westward together a few days later. "This business of barricading lodge-rooms—it is more like Ribbonmen than good, friendly Orange brethren."

"We can't have two Grand Lodges," one man would declare emphatically. "It will split the province, for no matter how strong we are for Gowan here in the west, Benjamin is bound to have a lot of supporters in the east. The Order will lose all its strength if we cannot stand together."

"But what can *we* do about it?" another would ask restlessly. "If they choose to disagree with the decisions of Grand Lodge and leave, we can't help it."

Then County Master Michael Crawford would speak up. "There is one thing we can do," he would say, "and I have already made plans for that. We must call the primary lodges together and let them save the situation which Grand Lodge has well-nigh ruined."

Gowan's old Brockville L.O.L. No. 1, which had evidently not gone dormant as his enemies declared, was the first to go into action. It presented its former master with a congratulatory address referring to his services as magistrate, municipal councillor, warden of the district, and representative in parliament, in all of which capacities he was "able, vigilant, and trustworthy". As lieutenant-colonel of the militia and volunteers, he set "a bright example of

loyalty, patriotism, and valour". The address was signed by Hiram Fulford, worshipful master, Robert Stewart, deputy master, Harcourt P. Gowan, secretary, and Andrew White, treasurer.

Inside the month, Crawford was able to offer Gowan the support of "the Loyal Orangemen of West York [Peel], (one of the largest, if not the largest Orange County in Canada)." At a county meeting in Allen's inn, the county and district officers and local masters had heard one of Benjamin's officers and one of Gowan's, and had expressed their full approval of Gowan's appointment. Their resolutions concluded:

"We rejoice to have him once more placed at our head; and we trust that though his well known vigor and ability, aided by the other respected Grand Officers of the Order, new life and activity will be infused into the whole body, and 'the spirit of unity in the bonds of peace' be preserved unbroken."

Albion district lodge was evidently at a loss, for on 10th June, 1854, it was moved by John Fleming, master of L.O.L. No. 76, and seconded by George Hamilton, master of L.O.L. No. 61 and deputy county master,

"That this district do condemn the manner in which *both* parties have been acting who claim the right of Grand Master; and this district will hold no further communication with *either* party until the matter is finally settled. As they are acting disgracefully."

If enough county lodges had followed Peel's example with enough promptitude, serious trouble might still have been averted, but this was not done. The Benjamin party was hopeful of increasing support, and did its best to win friends. It was a pitiable spectacle to see two Grand Lodges each claiming to be the only true and legal Orange authority in British America. What were men to think? Benjamin's appeal was signed by such prominent Orangemen as John Flanigan of Kingston, Mackenzie Bowell, Grand Master of Hastings, and Reverend R. J. Macgeorge of Streetsville, but Gowan's letter in the *Patriot* cited fifteen great Orange counties, including Peel, the Grand Masters of which had supported him.

There must have been some right and some wrong on both sides, for in May, 1854, the county masters of British America gathered at Kingston to plan a workable compromise. Evidently they agreed with the Peel Orangeman

who had seen the split, by and large, as a division between east and west, for they recommended the formation of two Orange provinces in Canada West, which should be on a par with the provinces of Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. Each of the newly constituted Orange provinces would contain a few individuals who were more in sympathy with the policy of the other, but they would be in a minority that could not make trouble. With this change in organization a reunion should be possible under officers agreeable to both parties and to be elected simultaneously by both.

Meanwhile old faiths were shaken and old friendships destroyed. Streetsville did not seem the same after Macgeorge went out with Benjamin while Allen remained in with Gowan, and the latter was glad his new position as gaoler took him to the capital. There he joined No. 137 and was a tower of strength to the Grand Master.

During the years of separation, Gowan seems to have been in his prime as far as constructive ideas were concerned. He was full of plans, most of which, ambitious as they seemed at the time, have since been proven not only practicable but inevitable. He wanted the organization to have a central office with a paid secretary. Savings banks would help members maintain a proper financial status, and temperance lodges would provide an outlet for their zeal as reformers. Orange lectures and libraries should be arranged for their education as had been suggested in the forties, and Cadets and Daughters of Orangeism should train the young.

A number of cadet lodges seem actually to have been established. At a procession in 1853, "Orange Cadets carried a variety of little flags and emblems". Albert Farmery of Brampton has a warrant of the same period, issued to his father-in-law, James R. Hurst, and "each of his lawfully appointed successors to open and preside over a lodge of Orange Cadets".

On 30th October, 1853, Gowan propounded in a letter to the Earl of Enniskillen his now historic suggestion of,

"A meeting of Delegates from all the Grand Lodges in the Empire, say at least from England, Ireland, Scotland, British North America, Australia, New South Wales, New Zealand; to fix upon a Grand Lodge and Grand Master for the whole Empire—to define its duty, power and

limits—to declare the Fundamental Principles of the Association—the number of its Degrees, establish a perfect uniformity in the Mysteries and Symbols of those Degrees—to secure a more perfect understanding and correspondence in the working of the Institution than at present, or than has hitherto existed, with many other objects too extensive to be acted upon in this letter.”

This is only one of many letters which Enniskillen received during the split from both Gowan and Benjamin. With notable tact and wisdom, His Lordship refused to pass on the validity of their respective claims to supremacy in British America or to deny to either the title of brother.

In the year of the split, Gowan was elected alderman for Toronto. In the succeeding year one of his fellow members was the Honourable John Hillyard Cameron, already a prominent politician.

In the election of 1851, Peel had been lost to the Reformers but Wright's victory had not been paralleled in the province at large. In 1854 when the Conservatives succeeded in electing a group which, by forming a coalition, could assume the reins of government, Peel with its usual happy gift for espousing the less prosperous cause, returned the Reformer, J. C. Aikins, the spelling of whose name, like that of the Broddys', varies from year to year and from document to document. In the new government, Tory extremists had to fall into line with views that would also be acceptable to moderate Reformers. This was difficult for contemporaries of Sir Allan MacNab, the titular head of the new ministry, and it was the constructive genius and political sagacity of the young Kingston Orangeman, John A. Macdonald, which forged the new weapon of Liberal Conservatism.

Unfortunately, Sir Allan, as Parkin puts it, could imagine no government more desirable than “a strengthened and purified Family Compact”. Before a serious cabinet split caused his resignation, and the succession of the Taché-Macdonald ministry, there were two years of heavy going. According to Dent, several of the old Tories, “including John Hillyard Cameron . . . refused to acquiesce in the new doctrines”. For this reason MacNab is said even to have pushed Cameron as a possible rival to Macdonald. Macdonald may early have recognized the danger, for in 1854 he wrote scathingly to Strachan:

"Cameron was useful in legal matters when in the House, but he lacks general intelligence, and is altogether devoid of political reading; so that he was altogether a failure as a statesman. Lord Elgin truly called him 'a presumptuous young gentleman'. He seeks Parliament again for selfish interests, and I would be sorry to see him represent so powerful a constituency as Toronto."

Benjamin, on the other hand, Macdonald would have liked to see elected, since he was "sure" and would not, because he dared not, break from the party. Cameron was the lucky man, however. Benjamin was subsequently returned from North Hastings in a by-election in 1856. History does not record whether or not this was the election at which, according to his grandson, Benjamin's election expenses included 6000 No. 1 hickory axe handles, and 60 gallons of good Canadian whisky. The whisky, needless to say, was for Benjamin's supporters, the axe handles for his opponents.

During the session of 1856, Sir Allan's "gout grew worse, and so too did the temper with which he repelled all suggestions of resignation". About this time, Cameron became a member of the Orange Order. He took Orangeism seriously, and caused his fellow Conservatives a good deal of trouble by persistently calling for papers regarding a religious quarrel in Quebec, which had culminated in murder. MacNab was defeated on this motion, and was only saved by the favourable vote on a want of confidence motion.

Cameron had been initiated by Andrew Fleming into L.O.L. No. 507, the only Benjamin lodge organized in Toronto during the split. This was inevitable in view of his connection with the old Conservative Family Compact aristocracy of Toronto, Orange members of which were, in general, supporters of Benjamin. The Honourable William H. Boulton of the Grange, Angus Bethune, and others of that calibre were members of No. 507's mother lodge, L.O.L. No. 387, the only Toronto society to accompany the seceders. Nevertheless, Cameron must have hoped, from the beginning, to aid in bringing about reunion as, early in 1856, he presented the petition of Ogle R. Gowan, Grand Master of the Orange Institution, and others, praying for an act of incorporation, and brought in a bill for the purpose.

This placed his fellow Orangemen of the MacNab-Morin ministry in a very difficult position. Their fraternal affiliations made them sympathetic, yet their dependence on

French support in the House prohibited them from expressing this. Before the bill came up for its second reading, John Flanigan, Grand Master of the Benjamin lodge and ex-mayor of Kingston, petitioned against it. The petition was presented by Mr. Attorney General Macdonald, member for Kingston, and afforded only too plausible an excuse for yielding to French protest and dropping the measure.

The hasty shelving of the Orange Incorporation Bill was a bitter pill. However bold a face each group put upon its own conduct, both must have felt some share in the responsibility. Fortunately negotiations for reunion were already under way, and this was soon consummated.

As early as 1855, the Benjamin party seems to have been working with a view to reunion, possibly on the basis of the county masters' recommendations of the preceding year. A report from Kingston to the *Globe* of 26th June, states explicitly that the efforts of the "Grand Lodge of the Loyal Orange Institution", the anti-Gowan party, "were not seconded at Toronto, as it was one time fully expected they would have been". Benjamin refusing to stand again, Flanigan became Grand Master. Macgeorge was re-elected as Grand Chaplain, and arrangements were made for the next meeting to be held at Streetsville.

When prospects of immediate reunion seemed fair and rosy, it was suggested, according to John Ross Robertson, Grand Lecturer, 1868-70, that Toronto Orangemen should dine together in St. Lawrence hall on 12th July. The setback given those prospects by the unyielding attitude of the senior group foiled these well meant efforts. Gowan's own lodge, No. 137, banqueted at St. Lawrence hall, as planned, with L.O.L. No. 301, and Gowan presided. Other lodges met in their own rooms or in hotels.

The procession seems to have been united, however, for at the Caer Howell grounds, where lunch was served, Gowan spoke on the same platform with John Hillyard Cameron, who was still a member of the Benjamin group. Peel was represented here by the Reverend Gilbert Armstrong of Tullamore, distinguished Church of England clergyman and Deputy Grand Chaplain through the fifties, who delivered the sermon in Holy Trinity church.

Reunion was consummated in 1856 on the basis of the

demands of the Gowan lodge. At the June meeting of this lodge, Gowan refused to accept his unanimous re-election to the office of Grand Master, "in order that he should not stand in the way of that re-union", but his successor, George Lyttleton Allen, was elected on the motion of Gowan's sons, Reverend Nassau C. and Harcourt.

An amusing incident occurred at this meeting when,

"Bro. Andrew Fleming, for and on behalf of Lodge No. 507, Toronto, (holding warrant under authority of Bro. Whitehead's Grand Lodge,) arose and presented, amidst loud demonstrations of the satisfaction of the brethren, a large Boquet of Orange Lilies, tied with Orange, Purple, Blue and Scarlet Ribbons, to the Right Worshipful the Grand Master and Sovereign as 'a peace offering.' "

This incident in conjunction with the presentation of Gowan's incorporation petition by Fleming's friend and fellow lodge member Cameron, confirms a general impression that L.O.L. No. 507 was active in restoring peace.

Thus in a burst of hearty good feeling, the prodigal returned to the fold, though not, it must be admitted, to a fatted calf and the rest of the lavish reception which is traditionally associated with such a movement. New officers were drawn almost entirely from the Gowan group. Richard Dempsey became Senior Deputy Grand Master. Harcourt Gowan was Grand Secretary. Reverend Nassau C. Gowan served as Deputy Grand Chaplain. No "Benjamin" man carried off a really influential position.

The ten years following reunion gave striking proof of the whole-hearted forgiveness with which the erst-while rebels had been received back into the fold. Feeling swung gradually more and more in the direction of Benjamin policies, and opinions of former rebels slowly gained weight in the counsels of the Order. The sportsmanlike fashion in which they had taken their defeat won them sympathy. Their moderation of policy and conduct, weak though it may have seemed to uncompromising warriors of the old school, seemed to the more prudent moderns the only effective method of re-establishing the Order in public esteem. Times were changing, and the old, bitter party hatreds did not thrive in the new atmosphere.

As the new Liberal Conservatism was to replace the old, unyielding Toryism, so a new moderate Orangeism was

to replace the uncompromising rashness of the past. Well directed political pressure was soon to gain peacefully all that a half century of mingled loyalty, defiance, and protesting Protestantism had struggled for without success.

A step towards rehabilitation of the defeated cause came in 1857. Mackenzie Bowell, who in 1848 had taken over from Benjamin the editorship of the Belleville *Intelligencer*, and who was later to hold the Grand Mastership of Central Canada, the Grand Mastership of British America, the Presidency of the Imperial Grand Orange Council of the World, and the Prime Ministership of Canada, secured passage of the following resolution:

"That for the more effectually cementing the union so auspiciously commenced at the Special Meeting of this Right Worshipful Grand Lodge, held at Kingston, in April last, it is advisable to rescind all resolutions now standing upon the records of the Grand Lodge, having reference to the expulsion, suspension, and reinstating of Brothers Flanagan, Benjamin, and others, for certain acts connected with the Order, such expulsions and suspensions having been illegal; and further, be it therefore resolved that said resolutions be, and the same are hereby repealed."

While clouds of discord gathered and dispersed again over the deliberations of the superficially reconciled Orange Association, there passed over the Rutledge farm a darker shadow still. John Rutledge was an old man. He could no longer hear very well. His days of toil were over, and he was content to have it so. He often sat dozing peacefully on a log bench outside his homestead, only half aware of his little grandson William playing at his feet, only half conscious of the seven-year-old's high, eager laugh and of the leaves rustling softly overhead. There was something missing, he thought vaguely—the sound of the little spring creek that had once run through his property to join the Etobicoke.

"There was the Boyne just over yonder," he murmured drowsily to the child, "where we used to fight King William's battles, your father and I. It's gone now. Most of the old streams have dried up. The battles are over, too—the worst of them—and now Orangemen stand together in this country as they did at the Boyne and at the Diamond."

His voice droned on peacefully, telling the boy of the honour and responsibility that descend to sons of a line of Orangemen, but Willie was tired with his play and did not

understand. He had climbed on his grandfather's knee to hear the story, but in a few minutes he was fast asleep. The old Orangeman was dimly conscious that it was pleasant to sit here with that small, warm burden on his knee and share the general drowsiness of nature at noon. He did not think; he did not even remember; he merely floated in a soft mist of pleasant tiredness and he was perfectly happy.

He sat very still. Through his dreams flowed the sound of Boyne Water, and he stood on the green banks he never had seen in his life. Beside him a well-known form reined in the familiar white horse, and pointed the way across the river. He closed his eyes. His breath did not stir a single thread of his little grandson's silken hair. A leaf from a near-by tree drifted down and came to rest on his hand. He did not move. The child awoke, clambered down from his grandfather's knee, and ran screaming into the house.

A few days later, John Rutledge died in "great pain amidst great bodily weakness", but possessed of a spirit of holy resignation and his last words were words of peace,

"Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits."



CHAPTER X

THE NEW ORDER

*Derry's sons alike defy
Pope, traitor, or pretender,
And peal to heaven their 'prentice cry,
Their patriot "No Surrender."*

—OGLE R. GOWAN

IN 1857, Orange energy was concentrated upon the December elections. Aikins, in Peel, had a majority thirteen times greater than in the previous election. Benjamin, first returned in the 1856 by-election, was again successful. Cameron, now defeated, was soon replaced by Ogle R. Gowan, who won the north riding of Leeds and Grenville at a by-election in 1858. Macdonald remained leader in the House.

An incident in 1858 illustrates the Orangemen's loyalty and their efforts to gain recognition. Gowan's son-in-law, T. R. Ferguson, and W. F. Powell, both members of the legislature, had been absent from an important committee. They attended in their places, "as ordered" to account for this, and made affidavit that they had been called away by business of importance, adding that they had been at a Grand Orange Lodge meeting. Fierce denunciations of the Order followed, and several members wished to reject the gentlemen's excuses, but they were finally accepted. Every little encounter of this sort was, of course, valuable, as it helped to entrench the Order in general knowledge and respect.

These first years of the new parliament saw the Conservatives walking in slippery places. Orangemen watched with interest the clever strategy of Macdonald's famous Double Shuffle. His ministry, defeated on a motion as to the seat of government, resigned, but turned the tables on the newly formed Brown-Dorion government while its members were without seats pending re-election, and returned to power as the Cartier-Macdonald ministry. Each member held a new portfolio and avoided the problem of re-election under a regulation which allowed a minister to change his office without vacating his seat. A day or so later, old posts were resumed. In these by-elections, George Brown

was unsuccessfully opposed by John Hillyard Cameron.

The smallness of the Conservative majority still compelled the leaders of that party to walk warily, and the Orangemen of Peel were often impatient with what seemed to them an unwarranted timidity, especially after 1859, when Grand Lodge noted the attempt of police commissioners in the "Little Pedlington" City of Toronto to drive Orangemen from the force. Thus the Derry West District Lodge resolved:

"It is our wishes that the Orangement [sic] of this province (even their Grand Master) should [not] be deluded by the flatering tongue of a reformer or a Dorianite [?], that they should support the civil authorities in subduing rebellion and carying into effect the Laws of this Country in general the same as we have done in the year of 37-&38 and our ancestors done at Londonderry Enniskillen and the Boyne if provided the Government supports our cause and the protestant institution."

The same meeting devised a brilliant publicity campaign. Orangemen were to,

"Make application to some of the proprietors of the public press stating that each Master of an Orange Lodge will subscribe for one of his papers if provided that said proprietor gives said Orangemen a privilege of employing an aditor to write so much as may fill a certain number of collums in their paper & said Editor to be paid by the Orange Association and the proprietor to have the benefit of the paper and said Edditor to have the power of Noticing all Meetings of the Society their time and place and to shew to the public why Orangeism was first formed and the principles on which it was formed &c."

Instructions were given to have this resolution printed in the *Patriot*, so that all masters of Orange lodges could "send their sentiments immediately to the Editor".

In Grand Lodge, Gowan's plan for a central office and paid secretary had been put into operation and schemes were on foot for large scale benevolence, eventually to result in the Orange wing of the Protestant Orphans' Home. There was still talk of incorporation, also of an official paper. Nevertheless, secret rivalries persisted beneath the apparently peaceful surface, as witness, the annual competition between Nassau C. Gowan and Andrew Fleming for the position of Grand Secretary.

Evidently leading Orangemen realized that, if the Order was to save its strength for its enemies, instead of exhausting itself in civil strife, a new leader must be selected. He must be one who had not been prominently identified



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JOHN AIKINS



Courtesy Mrs. J. W. L. Forster
HON. J. C. AIKINS



G. H. AIKINS, K.C.



Courtesy G. H. Aikins, K.C.
SIR J. A. M. AIKINS

with either of the old sectional interests, yet had attained sufficient distinction elsewhere—probably in politics—to make him acceptable in his high task. The logical choice, since Macdonald's political responsibilities precluded his consideration of the position, was surely John Hillyard Cameron. Cameron made his first appearance at Grand Lodge in Hamilton on 21st June, 1859. The next day, after an animated and lengthy discussion, and ultimately by the narrow majority of twelve votes, he was elected Grand Master.

From the beginning Gowan seems to have recognized in this young Scot just what Orangeism needed and had not had since the days of his own youth—a man who was Orange first and foremost, regardless of any personal affiliations or sectional interests. It is true that in some respects Gowan differed from Cameron in matters of policy, as the Toryism represented by Sir Allan MacNab differed from the newer Conservatism represented by Macdonald. Nevertheless, the older man could not let his personal opinions or feelings stand in the way of what was obviously for the good of the Order as a whole. He remained a member of his primary and of Grand Lodge, worked as ardently for the progress of the Order as ever, and thus shared in raising the Association to a position of political power and prestige which perhaps it never occupied before or since.

Cameron's sponsorship of the abortive Orange Incorporation Bill of 1856 had already marked him as an outstanding champion of Orange ideals. He was a new comer of obvious intellectual attainments, and the more thoughtful members of both parties regarded him as a saviour sent to restore peace and concord. He retained office until succeeded in 1870 by Mackenzie Bowell.

The election of 1859 was notable for the introduction of potent new blood into the Grand Lodge of British America. When T. R. Ferguson declined to stand for election as Senior Deputy Grand Master, Doctor Morton received the office by acclamation. The dove of peace fluttered immediately thereafter in the election of Thomas Keyes as Junior Deputy Grand Master. Nassau Gowan was elected Grand Secretary, a position held in 1857 by his brother Harcourt. A year later he was succeeded by Andrew Flem-

ing. Other offices were divided fairly equally between the two groups.

In the year of Cameron's appointment, party feeling was apparently less bitter than formerly in northern Peel. One of the children of Owen Garvey, a confirmed Roman Catholic, was born on 12th July. A neighbouring lady of Orange sympathies suggested that he be called William in honour of the day, and the family listened equably to all her arguments. There was something to what she said, they admitted, and topical names were interesting, so, since they had no Williams in their family, they would just compromise by calling the boy Patrick.

Cameron's first concern as Grand Master was to give effect to the old plan for the division of Canada West (Ontario). Grand Lodge now reported subsidiary organizations, actual or projected, in Eastern Canada (Quebec), Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Vancouver, Columbia (formed that very year), and Saskatchewan. Why should there not also be two Grand Lodges in this populous province where there were so many Orangemen, and where the system of working through the Grand Lodge of British America was obviously unwieldy as well as provocative of dissension?

A special session at Cobourg in August, 1859, called to consider a report of a committee on the constitution, provided an opportunity. Gowan, although appointed to the committee, was evidently occupied elsewhere, for he was not in attendance. Naturally Peel lodges could not be well represented during harvest time. Notwithstanding inadequate representation—or perhaps because of it—and despite some opposition from older members to the formation of subordinate Grand Lodges of Central and Western Canada, recommendations of the committee were pushed through. After Confederation, Central and Western Canada became Ontario West and Ontario East.

The new organization of Provincial Grand Lodges took much power from Canada West, of which Peel was a part. Heretofore, this province had worked directly under Grand Lodge, with the result that its primary lodges exercised a preponderant influence upon proceedings. Naturally they resented the curtailment of their immediate influence.

For some years after the new constitution was put into operation, many local lodges—among which those of Peel were especially vociferous—forwarded annual resolutions demanding a return to the old ways.

When Cameron ascended the Grand Master's throne, the Orange Order still laboured under serious disabilities. Although the Party Processions Act had been repealed, its violations were still remembered and resented. Furthermore, the government was now determined to conciliate the Roman Catholic Church and, through that institution, the French Canadians. The sturdy refusal of Orangemen to truckle in any way to Roman Catholicism got them into still further bad odour in high places. Events in 1860 made it regrettably clear that the detested Party Processions Act, repealed a few years before, was now to be succeeded by a less systematic but equally effective freezing-out process.

When the Prince of Wales, later Edward VII, visited Canada, the Grand Master asked if formal addresses might be presented by the Order, but the Duke of Newcastle, who was arranging the tour, notified the Governor General that these would be most embarrassing, and the plan was dropped. No Orangeman dreamt, however, that the appearance of a lodge in regalia would be construed as an offence. Thus, at great expense and difficulty, they assembled on the wharves of Kingston and Belleville, wearing collars and sashes, and with banners flying. The Duke was not caught napping. Instead of being allowed to land, the Prince, as Cameron gently remonstrated, "was borne away from the loving gaze of a loyal people and a chill was cast upon warm hearts".

In Toronto, the trouble was caused by arches. One particularly handsome specimen, a replica of the Bishop's Gate at Londonderry, with a representation of King William III crossing the Boyne, and various Orange mottoes, occupied one of the best sites on a principal thoroughfare. As noted in a young midshipman's record of the tour:

"The Orangemen consented to remove the obnoxious emblems, which they did muttering threats at the Duke's unfairness . . . but the Orangemen proved too much for him after all. The mounted king was taken down, and the arch covered with loyal mottoes and devices. On the occasion of the Prince's entry into Toronto he drove under the

redecorated arch; when he left the city he drove under it again. As he cleared it there was a sound of falling boards, a cheer from the Orangemen and on the Duke looking back, the Orange emblems and mottoes appeared in all their glory: the others had only been dummies, and his Royal Highness had driven under both."

The writer was convinced that the revelation of the concealed mottoes was made intentionally, but this is scarcely credible. It was not necessary, for the Orange leaders, at least, preferred to carry the question directly to the foot of the Throne.

In the following year this was done. At his own expense, Grand Master Cameron sailed for England with an address similar to that which his Association had been forbidden to present to the Prince. It was simple but eloquent, "expressive of their devoted loyalty . . . and representing that their Association is under no legal disability of any kind in British America". He must have been gloating a little when he subsequently reported to Grand Lodge that,

"The Duke of Newcastle stood by and saw the Queen most graciously receive, in the presence of a crowded Court, an Address from the very men whom he had endeavoured to turn away from the presence of her son."

It was in 1861 also that the Order inaugurated a new form of systematic benevolence. On 12th July, Cameron laid the corner-stone of the Eastern or Orange wing of the Protestant Orphans' Home. This home had already been the object of large Orange benefactions, but the new undertaking was, according to Grand Lodge minutes, the first, and at that time the only, building of its kind erected on this continent by Orangemen or with Orange funds. Thereafter it was to be aided by repeated collections and special gifts from Peel and the other counties of Canada West, and to set a precedent for similar activity by Grand Lodges elsewhere. Among early Peel contributions occurs the following list:

District of Derry West	\$69.00
L.O.L. No. 263, Streetsville	4.00
L.O.L. No. 61, Tullamore	4.00
Albion [District] Lodge	18.00
County of Peel per Brother Graham	10.00
L.O.L. No. 163, Port Credit	5.00
Brampton [several] lodges	56.22

Father Wheeler, the venerable Congregational pastor of Bolton, despite the precarious existence which he eked

out on scanty contributions from his flock—mostly in kind rather than in cash—contributed a dollar.

After this structure was completed the Grand Lodge of Canada West in 1864 visited the Institution and presented to the lady managers the Contractor's receipt for \$1,517.34—payment in full. His Worship the Mayor of Toronto, Grand Master of this Provincial Lodge, thanked the manageresses for the admirable manner in which they had conducted the institution.

A strict watch has always been kept on the objects of such benevolence. In 1866, for instance, it was stated that the name Protestant had been removed from the official title of this home. Quite a furore was created until a differentiation was drawn between the legal and popular names. A committee of investigation also cleared the new matron, Mrs. Kelly, of the charge of being the wife of a Roman Catholic. They stated that this was "an excellent appointment" and believed that charges of "mal-administration of the internal economy of the Home" were false and absurd. The lady managers of the Home were assured of the continued confidence of the Grand Lodge of Canada West.

A man as vigorous and colourful as Cameron could not fail, even in the Order of which he was head, to make enemies as well as friends. In 1863, when amendments to the Separate School Act were under discussion, such personal grudges or honest misgivings were crystallized in public protests. In June the Peel Reformers exulted over their chances in the forthcoming general elections, because, according to their official organ, Cameron's advocacy of Scott's Separate School Bill had prejudiced his chances and he would no longer receive the support of "Orangemen as a body".

Several Peel Orangemen were regrettably involved in protests against Cameron's conduct at this time, but their county lodge acted promptly, and Grand Lodge minutes of 1863 contain the following paragraph:

"The action of the County Lodge of the County of Peel is sustained in the expulsion of the following members for slandering the character of the M.W. the Grand Master, Brother the Hon. J. H. Cameron, viz.: Messrs. Wolfe, McIntosh, Mills, Bell, Boulton, Roberts, Hermay, Brown, Livingston, Miller and Hart."

George Miller, James Wolfe, and James Roberts had already, in 1861, got into hot water with Columbia L.O.L. No. 1020 when they, together with Thomas Swinarton, retiring master of the lodge, had been charged with using their influence against the Grand Master during the recent election. They had been expelled at that time but re-admitted, as it were on probation, after being for some months without the annual.

After five years' service, Cameron had intended to retire, but these attacks on his conduct in parliament brought him up fighting. He insisted the state should not "coerce the conscience of any man".

"The Roman Catholic declares that it is against his conscience to separate religious from secular education; he says that such is the teaching of his Church, and however erroneous we as Protestants may believe that teaching, his faith is that it is true. He claims that as part of the religious liberty which the civil Government has given him, that the conscience of his child shall not be subjected to secular teaching only, and he asks that his own rates and taxes only—not a farthing of any Protestant's—shall be allowed him for that purpose."

This was startling doctrine for Orangemen, and it is a tribute to their fine spirit and to Cameron's own greatness of character and personality that he was permitted to make this defence before the Grand Lodge at Belleville. It is an even finer tribute that Grand Lodge completely vindicated his stand, re-electing him by acclamation.

In this summer another County Fermanagh Irishman, Frank Somers, made the acquaintance of George Rutledge at an especially spectacular parade in Toronto. George L. Allen, formerly of Streetsville and now governor of the Toronto gaol, was Grand Marshal, and introduced his old Peel friend to the younger new comer. "He's from Maguire's Bridge, and is going to be a real help to us," said Allen, who was master of Somers's lodge. His prophecy was fulfilled. Somers was to be county master, 1884-7, and to render valuable service in connection with the erection of the present county Orange hall. His son James has a splendid record of fifty years as city clerk in Toronto.

Allen was a guest at an auspicious wedding in the summer of 1863, when Isaac Ferguson of Cookstown, brother of Thomas Roberts Ferguson, became his brother's brother-in-law by marrying Gowan's younger daughter.

Sir John A. Macdonald was another guest, and returned to the house with the wedding party, going with them into a marquee on the lawn. Allen was already there; some young girls had him under a leak in the tent roof and were roaring with laughter when the rain fell on his bald head. Macdonald grinned amiably at his friend, the city gaoler, and said, "Aha, Allen! They have you where you've had many another—under the drop."

The offspring of this union early manifested Orange proclivities. Harcourt Ferguson, later K.C., wore orange streamers on his baptismal robe and soon afterwards was carried to the Cookstown Orange hall and decorated. The older sons, Honourable Mr. Justice William Nassau Ferguson and Thomas Roberts Ferguson, K.C., were members of Allen's old lodge, No. 140. The daughters were Mrs. Ferguson-Burke and Magistrate Emily Murphy (Janey Canuck). The middle name, Roberts, so persistent in this family, was derived from the mother of the first T. R.; she was Mary Ann Roberts, a kinswoman of Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, First Earl of Kandahar.

Late in September, 1863, the *Christian Guardian* carried the interesting "Orange Intelligence" of "a beautiful collection of carte de photographs" belonging to William Shannon, Secretary of the Grand Orange Lodge, which were to be on display in the Fine Arts Department of "the approaching Exhibition at Kingston". Shannon's collection included photographs of most of the "true and worthy chiefs of the Orange Institution". This happy innovation gave further publicity to the Order.

In 1864 the Grand Lodge of British America was lamenting the departure of members for the United States, where civil war was then raging. Among Peel men who served in the Federal army were privates Horatio and Robert Johnston, sons of a County Armagh Irishman who taught school in Donegal, came out to Peel in 1840 and taught school there for twenty years. The Johnstons were doubtless Orangemen, as they spent the first years of their lives in Canada at Armstrong's Corners (Orangedale), and six years at Derry West, where two young Orangemen, the future Sir William Gage and Doctor Charles Young Moore, were among the father's pupils. The latter, brother of

Robert Moore, was a member of L.O.L. No. 10 and a Grand Committee-man in the fifties. His brother, James, was with him in both local and Grand Lodge.

Sir William's father, Andrew Gage, was a member of L.O.L. No. 5, while his mother, Mary Jane Grafton, came of an old Orange family. Her kin included James, master of L.O.L. No. 62, Whaley's Corners, and in the next generation his son, Thomas, a charter member of Meadowvale L.O.L. No. 708, and his nephews, Stewart, Thomas, and William, members of L.O.L. No. 5. William married Mary Jane, daughter of "Cheery" Armstrong, and his sister, Artemissa Patience, married his brother-in-law, Joseph. Stewart and William left L.O.L. No. 5 in 1854 and ten years later the former's name appears as master of L.O.L. No. 946, Brampton.

Doctor Samuel Allison, son of Andrew Allison of County Tyrone who early settled in Toronto township, and of Sarah Moore, graduated in 1862 and served as surgeon with the Union army. In the course of attending wounded men at Richmond on the Potomac river and before they were transported to the hospitals of New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, he contracted typhoid and was cared for by Doctor Strachan, nephew of John, Bishop of Toronto. He settled in Caledon East where he was connected with the Orange Order for fifty years, being master of L.O.L. No. 63 and, in 1885, district master of Albion.

It is said that older heads among the Orangemen deplored the loss of so much young blood to the United States, and in 1865 the Grand Lodge of Western Canada passed a resolution against Orangemen taking British subjects across the line to enlist them in the United States army. Any man doing so was to be expelled.

There were other losses, too, in the Order. In 1865 there was a railway accident, and the Grand Secretary of Canada West expressed the "deepest feelings of sadness and regret" in chronicling the "irreparable loss sustained by this Grand Lodge and the Institution at large, in the death of the late Bro. Nassau C. Gowan . . . whose zeal for the cause of Orangeism was an household word in the family of every Orangeman." Macgeorge had returned to Scotland in 1859, and George Lyttleton Allen had also disappeared from

the limelight.

The 1865 report of the Grand Secretary of British America pointed out how the recent Civil War in the United States and that country's subsequent belligerent attitude,



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had combined with a partial crop failure to produce a serious economic depression in Canada. Every branch of industry was so crippled that artisans, mechanics, and labourers were always in a state of transition from place to place in quest of employment. Each issue of the *Gazette* swelled the list of insolvents seeking relief through bankruptcy. He rejoiced that, in spite of these conditions, the

Order had made satisfactory progress.

The Grand Master also spoke hopefully. As an Orangeman, he expressed approval of the attempt being made to unite the provinces of British North America in a political confederation as they had been already united, for Orange purposes, under a sovereign Grand Lodge. If Macdonald had once regarded Cameron with disfavour he did so no longer. These two Scots, widely differing in their technique and temperament, were united in a common cause and had learned to co-operate smoothly. Indeed, Cartwright went so far as to claim that Cameron alone could have kept the entire force of the Orange Order steadily in support of Macdonald and his policy, especially in the Scott Act crisis of 1863.

In another matter to which Cameron referred in 1865, he was perhaps less far-sighted than in his views on Confederation:

"The Fenian conspiracy has been engaging large, but I am not disposed to say formidable proportions. We have had indications of it among ourselves, midnight drillings, Irish pikes, dastardly outrages, such as the destruction of the property in the Orange Hall at Toronto, and treasonable speeches, have all shewed that there were mischievous and murderous spirits in the land, who wanted not the will, but only the power and opportunity to carry out their treacherous designs, but enquiry has shewn that their numbers in Canada are as contemptible, as

their designs are impossible, and the course that large numbers of our body has[ve] pursued in joining the Volunteer Organization, and acquiring a knowledge of the use of arms, is our best means of preparation under the law, if we shall ever be called upon to measure strength with them, an event which the care of their bodies is not likely to permit in our generation."

Cameron over-estimated the care of the Fenians for their bodies, and Peel Orangemen had long suspected this. In Port Credit there had been a home guard as early as 1862. Doctor Beaumont W. B. Dixie, representative of L.O.L. No. 163 on Grand Committee in 1856, was a member, and several other Reformers joined the Order at this time, seeing in it the country's best prospect of defence in the coming emergency. In 1866, Grand Lodge did not meet on its usual date in June. The Grand Master, Major Cameron, with nearly everyone else eligible to attend, was under arms to repulse the Fenians. On Friday afternoon, 1st June, an immense gathering of Orangemen was held in St. Lawrence Hall, Toronto, under the chairmanship of Alderman Thompson. Harcourt Gowan acted as secretary. His father voiced the willingness of those left behind to "fall in, obey the call of duty, and act as a Home Guard or otherwise as the General Commanding may direct". A copy of their resolutions was to be forwarded to the mayor for transmission to the commander-in-chief, with a request for officers and arms. Patriotic meetings in other parts of city and county were addressed by prominent Orangemen.

Every Orangeman in the July parade wore a mourning badge in memory of the brethren who had fallen at Lime Ridge, and when Grand Lodge finally convened in September, it was to pass resolutions of condolence with relations and to record that three fourths of all Canadians killed were Orangemen.

Peel's list of Fenian Raid veterans is too long to be reproduced here even in part, but it is interesting to note that it contains five Armstrongs, ten Grahams, three Rutledges, two Bells, three Johnstons, three Moores, two Odlums, two Phillippes, two Prices, two Sparlings, an Orr, a Hugh Brewster, a Wiggins, a Willoughby, and numerous others whose names have long been Orange watchwords in the county.

Henry Bleakley of Port Credit was working in Cleve-



Courtesy Mrs. Annie J. Ferguson-Burke

LT.-COL. THOS. ROBERTS FERGUSON
ISAAC FERGUSON
SIR JAMES GOWAN

REV. NASSAU C. GOWAN
HARCOURT P. GOWAN



From *Men of Canada* by Rev. Wm. Cochrane, D.D. Courtesy Mrs. G. W. Johnston

D'ALTON MCCARTHY, Q.C.

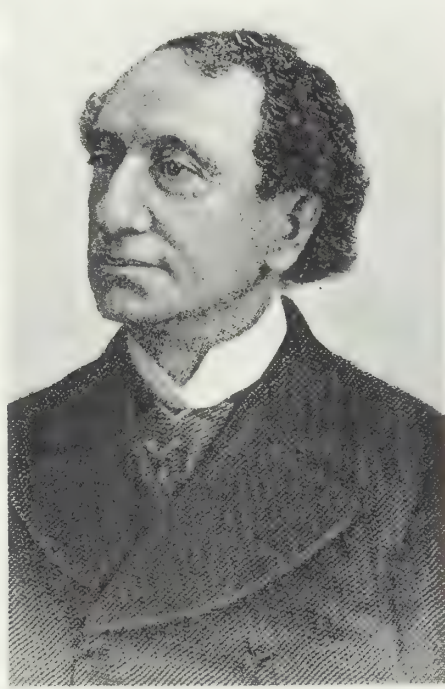


JOHN COYNE



Courtesy Public Archives of Canada

JOHN W. BELL



From engraving by F. Hollyer

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

land when the raids broke out, but returned to Port Credit to join his company for service. This loyal Orangeman was a sergeant in the Derry West Company, which was given the task of guarding a bridge at Niagara against possible invasion.

John Turner Mullin, who served as a private during the Fenian Raids, was later well known as a doctor in Tullamore and Brampton. He was interested in archery and in the county militia, served Brampton as its mayor, and was Orange county master, 1876-9.

It was not the fault of John Patterson, Captain of No. 8 Militia Company, Mono Mills, that he did not get a chance at this time to help defend the country against the Fenian invaders. He had done his best to prepare for the struggle and is said to have been one of the ablest men that neighbourhood ever had for handling troops. He drilled them thoroughly in the following unambiguous fashion:

"Forward march! Go on, I mean."

"Halt! Stop, I mean."

The Pattersons were all active Orangemen. The Orange hall was on the corner of Captain John's property and, after it fell into disuse, was taken over as a carpentry shop. James, the Captain's son, a prominent Orangeville auctioneer, delighted in leading processions. His greatest fondness was for the Orange walk on the 12th, but he was not above gathering a few men together for a little parade on 5th November or any other suitable occasion that presented itself.

It is fortunate for Canada that the much maligned Orangemen were on the spot to defend her in the sixties. The British attitude towards the colony was then apparently very casual and indifferent, if not inimical. Cartwright in his *reminiscences* insists that,

In 1865 and before that date . . . Gladstone and Disraeli . . . would have been still more pleased if we had asked for our independence at once, as indeed the *Times* suggested we should do, in so many words . . . in 1866 . . . I found that the feeling among the financial men of the city . . . was decidedly in the same direction . . . greatly strengthened by the fact that the military men . . . were one and all privately of the opinion that Canada was utterly indefensible."

This was not the opinion merely of an over-sensitive

Canadian. During a debate in the House about this time, Bright definitely levelled at the government the accusation that they had "no objection to the independence of Canada whenever Canada wants it". Visiting Canada in 1872, William Johnston commented on this fact, wishing that,

"Some of the snivelling politicians at home could see the beauty, the extent, the wealth and the magnificence of this great and grand country If they did so they would then cease to talk as if the British colonies were anything but an honor to the Crown of England, anything but a source of strength and wealth to the British Empire [and to] clamour for the policy of cutting Canada adrift."

Canada did not want her independence, however, still less union with the United States, and the same spirit which had animated her residents in 1812 inspired them again in 1866. Some descendants of those U.E. Loyalists who had been the backbone of the colony's defence in 1812, may have grown careless and inert, but the ever ready Orangemen were there to bear the brunt of the attack.

In spite of its strenuous summer, 1866 was, for Orangemen, a year of improved organization. Pre-eminent in importance was the formation of the Imperial Grand Orange Council which Gowan had projected twelve years before, and had often talked over with his Peel friends. The time had not yet been ripe. The Orange Order in Canada had still been divided against itself and frowned upon by law. It was now a respectable and powerful institution with which any similarly minded body might be proud to associate. Canadian officials were consulted throughout the preliminary plans and were to play a prominent part. Of the 21 meetings, 12 have been under the presidency of Canadians. Peel officers have included, in addition to Hillyard Cameron, Reverend Robert Arnold, and Reverend Canon William Walsh.

A small but significant undertaking was that of an Orange directory with a map, which was planned at the Grand Lodge of Western Ontario. This directory, which was finally issued in 1871, shows Peel with 36 lodges as against York's 38. Four of the latter had sent in no returns and may have been dormant. The District of Derry West had 18 lodges, with all returns in, and Toronto only 19,

with 2 returns not in. Only 5 other counties had all returns in, and in comparison with Peel's 36 lodges, these counties had only to collect from: Brant, 7; Welland, 8; Oxford, 4; Elgin, 4; and Lambton, 17.

Cameron's intellectual and moral qualities were brought out in startling fashion by the courage which he showed in 1868 when he was not afraid, though an Orangeman and a candidate for the Dominion Parliament, to defend the Fenian, Whelan, charged with the assassination of the patriot, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, because the man was in immediate peril and British fair play demanded that he be given a fighting chance for his life.

In Peel it must be admitted that it went hard with suspects. One David Hamill, tried at Morley's hotel, Cooksville, early in June, 1866, before Melville Parker, J. Hawkins, J. Cook, and D. Messenger, was regarded as an exceedingly suspicious figure—"a young man, wearing a black moustache, . . . dressed in such a style as showed he was hard up". A Customs officer from Port Credit testified that Hamill had "uttered treasonable language" and when searched had been found in possession of "a Fenian song book, which had evidently been well perused". He had first been brought to Toronto, according to the *Telegraph*, but had been discharged, whereupon he was re-arrested and taken to Cooksville, where he was committed to gaol.

Cooksville was all agog over the Fenians by that time. John C. Price, son of Colonel Samuel, was master of the village lodge, and William Hawkins, his brother-in-law, was master of another at Hawkins's Corners on the second line north and a little east. Rumour was rife along Dundas street that Fenians were meeting in the wine-vaults of Chateau Clair. The winery was loop-holed as though for rifles, and the fact that the builder, de Courtney, was only in the district for two years, leaving shortly after the failure of the raid, seems to bear out the suspicions of the day.

Fenians were also suspected of meeting in a store-room belonging to de Courtney, and Orangemen decided to try to entrap them in the midst of their nefarious plots. Three or four waited in a shed opposite, while an advance post carried on observations through a hole in the wall. One of the

clerks was a very talkative little man, but evidently he had no desire to get into trouble, for when Orangemen broke in after a Fenian meeting, he was discovered safely, if uncomfortably, ensconced in a large barrel.

Nassau C. Gowan's appointment in 1861 as Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada West, gave leadership to the agitation against the division of the province. Like his father, the new Provincial Grand Secretary was keenly alive to the desires of the rank and file of the Order. If the masters of local lodges in Canada West could ever have got back into the Grand Lodge of British America for one session, they would have made short work of Hillyard Cameron and the new constitution. But this was not to be. Time passed, and gradually opponents of the new system became reconciled. Population was increasing enormously and the most inveterate of old-timers realized that former Grand Lodge methods were no longer workable.

The last stronghold of the old Order was Peel. Thither Hillyard Cameron proceeded in 1861, ostensibly for purely political reasons, as a candidate for the legislature, but doubtless not unaware of the importance of winning over this influential centre of Orangeism. The county accepted its new candidate with open arms, but reserved judgement in the matter of the Orange constitution, and it was left for a native son, John Coyne of Brampton, finally to bring his recalcitrant fellow Orangemen into the fold. At a Provincial Grand Lodge meeting held in Brampton in 1863, the first of three such happy occasions in the county town, Coyne replaced Nassau Gowan as Provincial Grand Secretary by a vote of 58-38, although the dignified county master, Michael Crawford, and Thomas Graham of the ancient No. 5 lodge, opposed the change and stood by their old leader and convictions to the end.

Coyne's election proved a wise move, none the less. He seems almost at once to have established new and satisfactory relations with Andrew Fleming, Grand Secretary for British America, and his advance in the Order was rapid. He held provincial office as follows: Grand Secretary, two years; Deputy Grand Master, one; Grand Master, three. He handled the relations between Grand and Provincial Grand

Lodges with such tact that by 1868 he had succeeded in allaying the last disaffection, and had placed the whole organization on a footing of mutual trust. What Cameron did for the Grand Lodge of British America, Coyne did for the Grand Lodge of Ontario West. It is a strange coincidence that these two men should both have represented Peel politically—Cameron in the federal field and Coyne in the provincial—and that here, too, Coyne aided in developing the new Conservatism for the Province as Cameron for the Dominion.

John Rutledge's son George was already well established in temporal prosperity and had taken his father's place as leader in the Methodist community around Salem and Bethany. In 1866 he was appointed inspector of shop and tavern licences, and in 1873 he bought a new property on the west half of lot 14, concession 2 east, Toronto township. He had three sons and two daughters growing up around him, and the boys were being trained in the Orange tradition of the family.

George Rutledge was an ardent admirer of John Hilliard Cameron, whose political career he followed with almost as great interest as his father had devoted to Gowan's. It is true that Cameron had not the lively humour with which Gowan had delighted his Irish friends, but he gave an impression of steady power which was somehow pleasantly reassuring to those who remembered the vicissitudes of the past half century. One of the outstanding lawyers of the province, Cameron knew best just how far he dared go in any direction, and while he was careful to keep within the law, he was as unyielding in asserting his personal liberty as in defending the rights of the Order at large.

In 1861, as already noted, Cameron was invited to become Conservative candidate in Peel. Among the twelve men who signed the invitation were such Orange old-timers as R. Bell, John Tilt, R. Cotton, and Melville Parker, later Sir Melville; also J. C. Hyde, son of that vigorous Reformer, Mother Hyde, but husband of young Cornella Rutledge, one of Commodore Henry's daughters and a staunch Orange sympathizer. County Lodge came out strongly in support of the Grand Master, and, as seen, his opponents were

whipped pretty sharply into line.

Cameron accepted the nomination and conducted a vigorous campaign. He was a more skilful debater than Aikins and had many friends in the county. A vicious editorial in the *Leader*, on 4th July, 1861, compared the candidates, greatly to the discredit of Aikins. This must be largely discounted as propaganda, but is interesting for the undoubted shrewdness and insight with which it seizes upon the very qualities which endeared Cameron to his constituents, then and later—his effective use of official documents in giving the lie courteously to an opponent, his “candour and bold independent spirit”.

Even so, the election was a close one. Aikins was an Orangeman as were also his father and his brother John, the latter a member of No. 263 and deputy district master in 1856. The final vote ran 1,745-1,633 for Cameron, with Aikins polling majorities in Toronto township and The Gore of Toronto, where he was best known, and in Caledon, where the old Grit party was still tenacious.

Cameron seems to have made warm friends among the Conservatives of Peel on this occasion. On 7th November the *Orangeville Sun* advocated “the formation of a third, or independent party, in the Legislature” under his leadership. In the ensuing year he acted as solicitor for John Stubbs, brother-in-law of the spirited Jennie Rutledge Stubbs, regarding a claim to property in Caledon township. This and countless similar incidents disprove the charge of the *Globe* that Cameron “could not find time to speak to a poor man” and “turned up his nose at ‘vulgar trades-people’”, so that his constituents would see nothing of him after an election was over.



CHAPTER XI

A DEVELOPING DOMINION

*And make the land to freedom dear,
From lake to circling sea,
Be Protestant in every part
And more than ever free.*

—GEORGE C. LEECH

THE story of Canadian Confederation is an old one—the danger from abroad, the deadlock at home, the famous coalition ministry whose leaders had not been on speaking terms before its formation and were to resume their fervent enmity after it had accomplished its purpose, conferences at Charlottetown and Quebec, uncertainty in the Maritimes, pressure from the Canadas, strong men moving parliaments and provinces as a chess-player moves his pieces intricately to inevitable triumph. The part the Orange Order played in all this turmoil is less generally known, yet it was persistent and vital.

Some say that the scheme of a federal union was first suggested to Canadians by Grand Lodge organization. It was Gowan and Sir Alexander Campbell, according to the *Centenary Sentinel*, who first persuaded young John A. Macdonald to enter public life, and Macdonald is said to have stated that it was from Gowan and the Orange Order that he had got the idea for Confederation. Besides, Cameron's ten years of Grand Mastership had gradually welded and hammered the Order into a smoothly working machine, thus proving the practicability of the federal system in this country.

Cameron showed his belief in the system by voting in favour of the Confederation resolutions when they were first brought up in the Canadian legislature on 10th March, 1865. But he could not unreservedly support Macdonald's methods. His long Grand Lodge experience had shown him the difficulty of maintaining a close connection with the Atlantic seaboard, and the proud, independent temper of those colonies. Accordingly, he offered an amendment,

"That a constitutional appeal shall be made to the people, before these resolutions are submitted for final action thereon to the consideration of the Imperial Parliament."

In supporting this, he insisted that, since constitutional government was based on the will of the people, this will should be definitely ascertained by general election. The subsequent reaction of Nova Scotia against Confederation suggests that there were grounds for Cameron's argument. Further, he remarked that he had voted in favour of the resolutions, although personally he would have recommended instead, "the larger scheme of a Legislative Union", which he believed would still be the ultimate result. In view of the Tilley smash-up in New Brunswick his suggestion of a plebiscite was most embarrassing to the government, and the amendment was lost 84-35.

J. C. Aikins, the first and last elected legislative councillor from Peel, voted against the Confederation resolutions. This may have been because they did not include his amendment for the preservation of the legislative council under the elective form then in use. His attitude did not preclude his appointment to the Senate thereafter.

Confederation presented a stirring appeal to the minds and hearts of Canadians, such as politics had not offered since the war-cry of liberty and justice had been raised by Mackenzie or since the religious struggle had swayed backward and forward across the battle-ground of church establishment. Men's choice of representatives is peculiarly interesting when their emotions are thus keyed up. Here again, Orangemen came to the fore. In the year in which Canada formed her federal union, Peel became an independent municipality and the majority of her municipal councillors were Orangemen. Similarly, in the federal and provincial houses, the constituencies of Peel and Cardwell, the latter including the county's two northern townships, were represented by four Orangemen. The representatives of the southern riding were the Grand Master of British America in the federal house, and the Grand Master of Ontario West in the provincial; those of the northern, a son-in-law of the great Ogle R. Gowan, and a staunch local stalwart from Bolton. Indeed, as pointed out by Samuel Charters, of the nine men who represented Peel in the House of Commons from Confederation to the present, six have been Orange Conservatives. The record in the Provincial House, although not as good, has also been satisfactory, and Cardwell, with-

out intermission, was an Orange Tory seat.

Cameron's majority in 1867 was only 62. His opponent, Robert Barber, was widely known for his flourishing woollen mills at Streetsville. Cameron himself had spent only ten or eleven days in the constituency. During a goodly part of the campaign his presence had been required at the first regular meeting of the Imperial Grand Orange Council of the World, then in session at London, England. It was doubtless his Orange support which carried the day for him.

"We can't let the Grand Master of British America be beaten in Peel," George Rutledge said to his son William, now a lad of seventeen.

"There is not a chance of that," William replied. "I was in the town hall today to ask old Mr. McCulla about the assessment, as we decided, and he tells me that Brampton, and all Chinguacousy, in fact, are strong for Cameron."

"McCulla should know," returned the father. "He's in touch with everyone, and they say his son, W.A., is a born politician with a real future before him."

The father seems to have been a born politician also, and, what is more to the point, a good Orangeman. Bits of John McCulla's correspondence, preserved by his granddaughter, Mrs. Mabel McCulla Scott, who has been of great assistance to the author in the compilation of this work, show that he was also a shrewd man of business; witness, a copy of a letter to Cameron:

"Since my application to you at Osgood Hall I have thought over the propriety of letting you know at least some of my past business occupations which might the better enable you to judge in what direction you would in your kindness be pleased to consider suitable employment.

"I was for 16 years Cashier and Actuary in the Sligo Branch of the 'London Bank Office'—a position of trust and much responsibility, and for the efficient discharge of which I recd. as a token of approbation from the Board at each Xmas a gift of £20. (exclusive of Salary) to end of Institution.

"During the same 16 yrs. I was Managing Agent in the collection of rents for the Estate of Mr. King and also Receiver under the Court of Chancery to the Estate of Messrs Irwin and Hamilton as also several other active business employments. In Brampton Clk and Treasurer of the Municipality.

"I have been disappointed in an expectancy in the County Buildings here after 2 yrs hoping—and being so long without earning Ten dollars

I would gladly accept any employmt. which to you in your good judgment might seem meet.

"As to my Religious Creed I need hardly say it is that of the Church of England, and instructed therein by Father and Mother, and with Father and Grand Father an Orange Conservative born, and for which profession one of my uncles was murdered. When I caused two of my *own* Houses to be Levelled at an Election to destroy the votes of the Radical occupants (which cost £200 to rebuild), I think I might safely be judged by that alone. And in Brampton I will only say I am sorry its not in my power, through a certain direction, to render the same aid or in a similar manner, as on a former occasion.

"Hoping through your kind influence to meet some employt. which must be acknowledged with gratitude—Requesting your forgiveness in this lengthy note.

I am

Dear Sir

Yours respectfully

John McCulla"

With such help as McCulla's, Cameron was inevitably successful, and whatever his personal opinions as to the methods by which Confederation had been achieved, he proved one of the strong supporters of the Macdonald government. He was a man of great social activities and was for many years a sort of perpetual president of a small, informal mess of seven or eight members who always dined together at their club during the session; the little institution died with him.

The representative of Cardwell in the Dominion house was Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Roberts Ferguson. In the year after his marriage to Gowan's daughter he had been elected to the Canadian legislature from Simcoe county. He continued as a provincial member for some years after he was elected to the federal house. He sponsored strongly a policy of protection, opposed universal suffrage, and worked against sectarian schools.

Ferguson's opponent was Thomas Graham Phillips, M.D., the author's uncle by marriage and a son of that high-spirited Orange magistrate who had defied Sir George Arthur a quarter of a century before. Phillips was defeated only by a very small margin, doubtless because he ran as an independent. One of his especially far-sighted suggestions was that of deepening and enlarging the St. Lawrence canals so that sea-going vessels could reach Toronto, or even—

delightful thought!—Port Credit itself.

Thomas Swinarton, who represented Cardwell in the provincial house in 1867, lived in Albion township. He was born in County Down, but had seen thirty-six years of Canadian life. He was a practical business man, operating successfully a grist mill, carding mill, saw-mill, tannery, and general store. He had also a wide experience in municipal politics. Eight years earlier he had founded Columbia L.O.L. No. 1020, of which he was first master.

Elected as an anti-coalitionist, Swinarton refused to accept the dictation of George Brown. In the second session, with eight companions, he went over to Sandfield Macdonald. These "nine martyrs", as the *Globe* satirically called them, were much aggrieved at the contumely heaped upon them by their old comrades and supporters.

John Coyne, although of greater mental stature than Swinarton, and selected by Clarke as one of the prominent supporters to whom the Sandfield Macdonald government could point with special pride, resembled his fellow member in that he was a man of independent mind, capable of sinking party feeling when it conflicted with principle. His remarks were always "tersely put, with a dash of sarcasm making them acceptable to friends and remarkably disagreeable to opponents".

His maiden speech was to move the address in reply to the first speech from the Throne in this first Ontario legislature. In it he stressed the importance of obliterating party differences. Also, surprisingly, he advocated the conservation of timber—then recklessly wasted—the transfer of tavern licences from municipal to legislative hands, a new policy of wild land settlement to relieve congestion in older farming communities, and the appointment of a proper board of audit.

In many respects, subsequent experience has confirmed the wisdom of the iconoclastic opinions Coyne expressed in the sixties. It must have taken great courage and intellectual clarity for the representative of a temperance county to assert openly in the assembly that he did not believe the cause of temperance had been served in any community by limiting the number of bars. No act of parliament, he de-

clared, could make a people moral.

It was while Coyne sat in the Legislative Assembly that Sandfield Macdonald, as Premier, forced a narrow-gauge railway bill through the House. Coyne protested that the measure was not a wise one, and urged that, from the beginning, Canadians should adhere to the standard gauge.

He even went to the length of suggesting that women be given votes, a proposal which was received by many honourable members with witticisms and hoots of laughter.

As a lawyer, Coyne was greatly interested in measures for the reorganization of the judiciary and of the legal profession in general, somewhat to the annoyance of Sandfield Macdonald, who prefaced his Division Courts Bill with a few sarcastic remarks on,

"An unusual desire on the part of the Honorable members to take out of the hands of the Government the responsibilities which attach to Government at all times."

Coyne expressed himself as willing to bow to the decision of the House and admitted his lack of parliamentary experience. At the same time, he pointed out that he had been elected as an independent member. He would not, he declared, guarantee silent and unquestioning obedience to the tactics of any government.

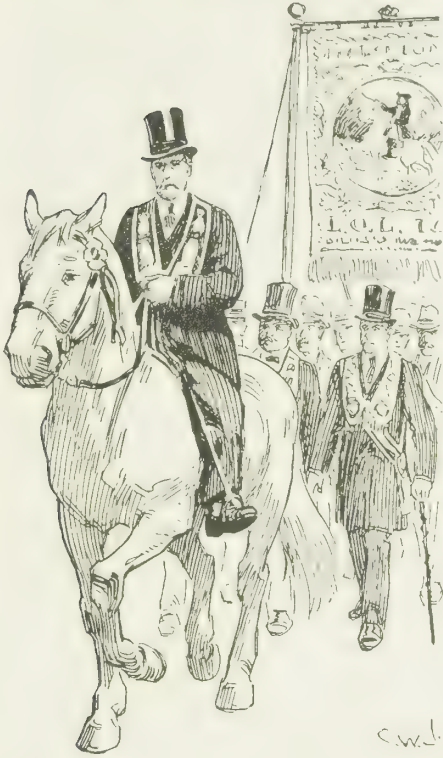
From the point of view of Orangemen, however, Coyne's most important accomplishment in parliament was his bill to amend one section of the Municipal Institutions Act, by striking out from the oath to be taken by members of city police forces the words,

"And that I will not connect myself with, or attend the meetings of any secret society, while I am a member of the Police Force."

The absurdity of this regulation is apparent when it is pointed out that although Orangemen could be, and were, members of parliament, justices of the peace, magistrates, judges, and even prime ministers, they could not help to enforce the law in the much more limited field of the constabulary. Sir Henry Smith reworded Coyne's measure for him as one "to allow Orangemen to become policemen", thereby occasioning much laughter, but Coyne stuck by his guns, and the ban was lifted before the year ended.

During these first years of national struggle, Peel was one of the bulwarks of Orangeism, and its county master,

Michael Crawford, was the personification of steadiness and loyalty. While Crawford headed its activities, many dormant warrants were revived and Peel became outstanding for fidelity and enthusiasm. By 1868, when Provincial Grand



Lodge dues from primary lodges had been allowed to go far behind through unbusinesslike methods of collection, the special list of delinquents showed Peel with a smaller percentage of arrears than any other county but East Lambton or Lincoln. In either of those, total dues were less than one quarter of Peel's, and must have been correspondingly easier to collect. Peel, at that date, had paid the largest actual sum of all the counties represented in Grand Lodge. Her percentage of arrears was only 13.16, while in the only other four Orange counties whose dues were as large, the ar-

rearage ran from 25.33 to 49 per cent.

Behind the apparent defection of so many local lodges outside Peel during the sixties and seventies lay a very real problem. This bulked as large in Peel as elsewhere. It was a shift of interest, followed to some extent by one of population. During the first half century of Canadian Orange history, each local lodge had been a little band of brothers, grappling in a self-reliant and independent way with the problems of their environment, and drawn together for mutual defence and mutual aid. They were necessarily restricted in their spheres of influence. Until after 1850, when the railways began to invade Peel, a trip even as far as Toronto involved many hours upon the road, and one or more nights spent under an alien roof. Thus there were scores of little lodges scattered about the country-side, just as there were scores of little mills, blacksmith shops, churches,

schools, and taverns.

Confederation saw a changing rural scene. The country was fully settled. Most of the concession lines had been opened, many swamps had been drained, all important creeks were bridged, and two railways crossed Peel from east to west. The old teams of oxen with their creeping gait had virtually disappeared from the roads, and horses and light rigs were in common use. Stages ran regularly between points not yet connected by the railways. It had become easy to get about in any direction, and already village life was breaking up. Population was not increasing perceptibly, but it was being rapidly redistributed. Farming districts were becoming more sparsely inhabited, while there was a greater concentration around a few urban centres.

In the years following Confederation, lodge after lodge with a purely rural membership surrendered its charter and disappeared. It might seem, on the face of it, as if the Orange Order were disintegrating and about to disappear, but this was by no means the case. Now that members could move about easily, they preferred joining some large central lodge to remaining in a smaller circle, but there is no evidence that the Order declined in numbers. Assuredly it spoke in no self-deprecatory voice throughout the politics of a century. Fraternally, as industrially, improved communications substituted a few large, strong units for a number of small, weak ones.

This tendency was soon to be reinforced by the coming of automobiles and the introduction of surfaced roads. Presently it was possible for a man to attend a lodge meeting twenty miles away and return in time to get at the chores as usual next morning. This led to the final extinction of smaller lodges, and left standing only those which possessed a large membership and a big hall, suitable for the accommodation of, say, a hundred members on lodge nights. At the time of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, there were less than half as many lodges in Peel as in Confederation year, but there were doubtless many more members.

In 1870, Cameron's place at the head of the Orange Order in Canada was taken by Mackenzie Bowell. With less commanding personality than Cameron's, Bowell none the less attained more conspicuous political honours. In 1833,

when he was ten, his parents brought him out from England. At the beginning of his career he endured a long and patient apprenticeship in newspaper work and in the Orange Order before being elected, in 1867, to the new House of Commons. Between the years 1878 and 1894, he served as Minister of Customs, Minister of Trade and Commerce, and Minister of Militia. In the latter year he succeeded Sir John Thompson as Premier, and in 1895 was knighted. He resigned two years later, dying during the Great War.

Although a plodder and a peacemaker, without much personal magnetism, Bowell's fidelity and determination made his election very popular. He knew his Orange ritual and history backwards; the only man in Canada, perhaps, who knew it as well as Gowan. He defeated Cameron because people felt the latter had been neglecting meetings and taking the work too lightly. They accused him of making the welfare of the Order subservient to his personal political ambitions. So far, at least, such a criticism could not possibly have been levelled against his successor.

Bowell ascended the Grand Master's throne at a difficult time in the history of the new Dominion. News of the Riel Rebellion had roused Canadians throughout the eastern provinces—particularly Orangemen, since Riel's chief victim, Thomas Scott, brother of Hugh Scott of Bolton, was an Orangeman. Riel, successful candidate in a by-election of 1873, had not attempted to sit, but was returned again in 1874. Bowell felt it was time to end the farce, and moved that the rebel leader should be expelled as a fugitive from justice. This was done. The Grand Secretary subsequently expressed the thanks of the Order to the Grand Master for his conduct in the House.

The seventies were palmy days for Peel Orangeism. Grand Lodge minutes in 1870 show that the lodges in the County of Peel had paid their dues in full up to that time. No other local group was able to make such a report. No other county master had so successful an organization as that loyal veteran who had helped to heal the breach in the Grand Lodge in the fifties. It was a distinct loss to Orangeism throughout western Ontario when Crawford retired.

At the 1871 Grand Lodge meeting, Ogle R. Gowan

moved and James McClure seconded,

"That this Grand Lodge regrets to find that one 'old and familiar face' regularly seen at each meeting during the last twenty or more years is absent from the present—the old and faithful County Master of Peel—Brother Michael Crawford—who has resigned his office in consequence of increasing years and infirmity, and this Grand Lodge trusts that in the evening of life he may be spared for many years in peace and security, to enjoy his well-earned reputation for fidelity, honour and loyalty."

The comment was just. He had aspired to no high office, but he had been uniformly respected and his opinion had carried great weight. No Grand Lodge meeting had passed without his being chairman of some important committee, and often of the Grand Committee as well. When the lodge went into committee of the whole, his years and experience had fitted him to preside here also.

At a meeting of Grand Lodge in Belleville on 3rd June, 1873, Grand Master Mackenzie Bowell made the following brief statement:

"I owe an apology to the Grand Lodge for neglecting to forward in accordance with its instruction, given at our meeting in Montreal last year, an address of congratulation to Her Majesty the Queen, upon the restoration to health of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It is within the knowledge of the members of the Grand Lodge that immediately after the close of the Lodge I had to return to my parliamentary duties in Ottawa, thence to the military camp in Kingston; before the close of which service, Brother William Johnston, M.P. of Ballykilbeg, Ireland, had arrived in the country, and that long ere his tour was completed writs were issued for a new election, in which I was engaged for months. These excitements and duties having passed, and time given for reflection, I recalled to mind the duty which you had imposed upon me, but considered the time had passed when it would be prudent to forward such an address."

The year over which Bowell passed so cursorily had been eventful indeed. The famous William Johnston brought word of the establishment of Grand Lodges in the northern and middle islands of New Zealand. Also he had good news of the progress of the Orangemen of Ireland. In the year of the last Grand Orange Council meeting in 1867, forty thousand Irish Orangemen, under his own humble leadership, he was proud to say, had defied their Party Processions Act by parading into Bangor on the glorious twelfth. He had been imprisoned, but far from harming the cause, his punishment had made him a national hero and discredited his opponents. Now at last, chiefly on account of his persistent efforts, the



Courtesy Jos. Cloughley, J.P.

GLIMPSES OF ORANGEISM IN SCOTLAND

Above: Office-bearers, ladies' section, Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland; middle: Orange Hall, Glasgow; Orange procession, Glasgow; below: mounted marshals; Mrs. Wilson & daughters, leaders in opening first Women's Orange Lodge in Scotland a quarter-century ago.



Party Processions Act had been formally repealed.

Canadians, with whom Johnston renewed friendships established abroad, had equally good news for him. The Order was flourishing on this continent. The Orange Young Britons had been recognized by the Grand Lodge of British America, and seemed likely to become a power for progress in the Order. In the following year a Grand Lodge had been organized at St. Johns, Newfoundland, and Orange Lodges were working successfully in Manitoba, as well as in New York and Boston. A year later Manitoba had been empowered to set up a Provincial Grand Lodge under Stewart Mulvey, and applications for warrants were so numerous that meetings had to be held twice a week during the first year.

One of the centres which Johnston visited was Brampton, where he was entertained at a banquet in the Exchange hotel. Guests included such noted Orangemen as John Hillyard Cameron, Judge Scott, John Coyne, and Michael Crawford, but George Rutledge was at the banquet too, no doubt—a sober, thoughtful listener as his father had been in bygone days. It was splendid, he thought, that the Order was now at last to be organized on a world-wide basis as his father and Gowan had so often wished and dreamed together, and he was glad that Gowan at least was living to see the dream realized.

Coyne doubtless took Johnston through the town on this occasion. As reeve, he would be proud to point out its park-like appearance, much of it due to the tree planting and general improvement society started by Reverend Robert Arnold, a finely educated Irishman and an enthusiastic Orangeman, who had long been Grand Chaplain of British America and had served Christ Church, Brampton, for some years. He would also show the visitor the fine hall which Coyne's own lodge, No. 157, had built on property secured in 1856. This might bring up the old, bitter subject of Orange incorporation, which still lay heavily upon the hearts of members everywhere, especially members whose parliamentary positions gave them a feeling of particular responsibility. One Peel Orangeman's goods were seized twice in connection with an unpaid hall mortgage which had perforce been taken out in his name.

The general election of 1872 was an exciting one. The

country was full of unrest. British Columbia had been brought into the union at the price of a transcontinental railway, which many people believed could never be built. Some of the good Orangemen of Peel who had never travelled further than York in their lives, almost doubted the sanity of legislators who could evolve such a hair-brained scheme. Special concessions made to Nova Scotia had also been criticized. Among Orangemen there was even greater resentment because of the failure to bring the murderers of Thomas Scott to justice. The question of sectarian schools was a problem in New Brunswick. The Washington Treaty had been criticized as sacrificing Canada to Imperial interests. Nevertheless, Macdonald fought as never before, and the government was returned, although with a seriously reduced majority.

Cameron was defeated in Peel on this occasion by Robert Smith, a Brampton farmer. The majority was only sixteen, but it served, and for six years "the war horse of Peel" expounded the principles of Liberalism in the House of Commons and in his home county. William Smith, his son, is authority for the statement that his father as a young man had been a Conservative, voting for George Wright until the latter opposed the secularization of the Clergy Reserves.

Fortunately for Cameron, the new ruling that members could not retain their seats in both local and federal houses, led to the withdrawal of Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson from the federal riding of Cardwell. As elections were held in different ridings on different days, Cameron was able to slip into the vacant niche, defeating the Liberal candidate, Lambert R. Bolton, by a majority of 216. Bolton, although of a notable rebel family, had once been an Orangeman, but had been expelled in 1863 for defaming the then Grand Master whom he now encountered anew in the field of politics.

The elections of those days were apparently conducted upon a simple, matter-of-fact, business basis. At any rate, in 1872 the chief Cardwell paper, *The Orangeville Sun, Garrafraxa, Erin, Caledon, Albion, Adjala, Mono, Amaranth and Melancthon Advertiser* (to give it its full, impressive title), carried an amusing doggerel advertising a reward for the return of a lost horse, ending with the promise that the honest man would,

"Get a shake-hands and a five dollar note.
Just exactly the price that is paid for a vote."

Election by ballot is a thing of yesterday: a trivial, un-English, perhaps republican device, said our grandfathers and fathers when it was adopted in 1874. It is difficult for this generation to visualize the conditions when the electors all travelled to one place in the constituency, mounted the steps to an outside stand, or entered a hall where the returning officer and the poll clerk sat, and each declared in a loud voice, "I vote for John Doe"—or Richard Roe, as his taste might dictate.

Concerning these same doubtful electors awaiting persuasion, the ballot brought difficulties to the ambitious statesman. How could he be sure that the elector would stay bought? John Hillyard Cameron, in his naturally conservative attitude towards innovation, was injudicious enough to raise some such argument in the House against the Dorion Ballot Bill passed on 24th March, 1874. The *Banner* did not miss the opportunity thus offered. It drew the natural inference—that Mr. Cameron must believe it part of the duty of a candidate to bribe the electors. "Such a candid acknowledgement on the part of Mr. Cameron," continued the article, "explains the manner by which he has carried his elections, and reveals his anxiety for his election in the future." Of course it explained and revealed nothing of the sort—save to a political enemy. Mr. Cameron was no worse than his neighbours, and undoubtedly rather better than most.

Even after the passing of the new bill, political life was by no means tame in Peel. Old residents of Castlemore still preserve legends of the conflicts in that vicinity. Voting generally took place in Hassard's Hotel, and this was made hot for the "black Grits" if they attempted to enter singly. As a result, they generally congregated in Peter O'Hara's across the way to reinforce their courage, and later voted in a body.

There is another story of the Orangeman who left his comrades at Hassard's one 12th July, crossed the road, and went to sleep in a wheat field belonging to Patrick Doherty. Painters were at work on Doherty's shutters, and the proprietor offered them two gallons of beer in addition to their

wages, if they would paint a green cross on the sleeping reveller's forehead. This they did with great glee, but when the innocent victim returned to the hotel, his fellow Orangemen raised the roof, and the ensuing fight between the Orange champion and Michael Murphy deserves epic treatment.

In the year after the 1872 election, when Brampton was making plans for incorporation as a town, Coyne died at the age of thirty-seven, before his second term in the provincial legislature had expired. He was exceedingly popular in the town, and Duggan noted in his diary of 18th November, that at the funeral, "there was an awful crowd . . . Wesleyan Church could not hold them", and many were turned away.

Coyne's death, a severe shock to Peel Orangemen, was followed within three years by still greater losses. In 1876, Ogle R. Gowan died, full of years and honours. He had remained in harness to the end, and his last thoughts were of the Orange Order. Bowell tells of meeting Gowan at Grand Lodge in Cobourg not long before his death. Gowan was as full of energy as ever, and sat beside the Grand Master until six o'clock in the morning, when they walked to their hotel arm in arm. During the walk, Gowan mentioned a history of Orangeism which he was writing. He wanted Bowell to correct the chapter dealing with the split lest it be considered one-sided, but Bowell was sailing at once for Ireland and Gowan agreed to postpone completion of the book until Bowell's return. Somehow, in the meantime, the manuscript disappeared.

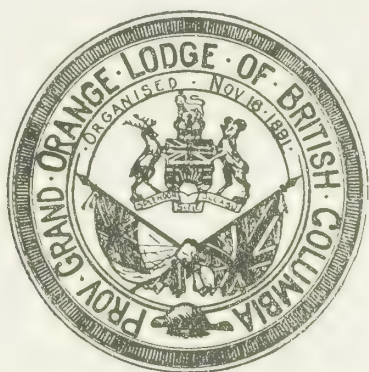
Gowan had previously, in the year 1859, written four parts of a book entitled *Orangeism, its Origin and History in the Old World*, which he dedicated to his friend and successor, John Hillyard Cameron, K.C. It was probably his intention to bring these parts together with his Canadian data, into one volume.

In the year of Gowan's death, John Hillyard Cameron also passed quietly from the arena in which he had fought so well, and George Rutledge, just Cameron's age, shook his head sadly as his son brought home the news he had just heard at lodge.

"The old guard are going," he said. "You young ones

will have to carry on in our stead."

"A man isn't old at sixty," William Rutledge rallied his father cheerfully. "Cameron was worn out by public life, but we expect you to go on marching with us on the 12th for a good twenty years yet." George smiled, but his eyes were dreamy as his thoughts rolled back forty years to the chill December night when there had been alarms and rumours in the square of little Toronto, and when he had first seen Cameron, then a young graduate of Upper Canada College. There could not be a rebellion in Canada now, he told himself. There were too many Orangemen.



CHAPTER XII

PATHS OF PEACE

*A door then being opened, I was admitted in,
On rugged roads Mysterious, my trav'ls I did begin,
With my Pack upon my back my staff was in my hand,
I travel'd thro' the wilderness all o'er desert lands.
All over desert lands,
All over desert lands,
And I travel'd thro' the Wilderness &c.*

AFTER Confederation the historian ceases to depend for local information chiefly on sparse newspaper references, ragged letters, and occasional incomplete minute-books and accounts which often intrigue the imagination without satisfying it. The succeeding half century of Orange development comes within the memory of living Orangemen who can give all sorts of little personal details to enrich and adorn.

W. J. Fenton of Brampton, for instance, recalls his first Orange parade in 1868. His father was master of a lodge, and the deputy master also had a son. The two little boys were decked out by their fond parents in exact replicas of the scarlet cloaks, white trousers, mortar-boards and gloves worn by their fathers, and were taken to Streetsville to head the parade.

The master's costume is elsewhere described more fully by Fenton as a scarlet garment called a cloak, but more like a university gown. It had a purple yoke, and its flowing sleeves were lined with blue silk or decorated with bands of purple, yellow, and blue. The top of the crimson velvet cap was cut into a five-pointed star, from the centre of which hung a crimson silk tassel. The Misses Minnie and Ellen Shore describe their father's gown as red cashmere—very elegant with imitation ermine down the front, on the collar and edging the big blue sleeves. It came down below the knees and was faced back for six or eight inches with bright blue silk. With this John wore a big hat with a feather, and a sword with ribbons.

County masters were distinguished by white gowns trimmed in blue—worn also by certain officers of the Orange Young Britons. The Grand Master wore a long red

merino mantle resembling those of local masters; similar, it was said, to the garment worn by William III crossing the Boyne. Among private members, some had white helmets; others affected a low, black tricorn; while many stuck to the old-time 'stove-pipe'—"the hat my father wore". Cedar Mills lodge ordered special straw hats which were auctioned at lodge meetings; one minute referring to 'cow breakfasts' closes with, "God save the Queen and all auctioneers. Carried."

Most of the walkers wore simple attire, and a frock-coat and plug hat might march cheerfully beside a working shirt and straw hat. Still, orange and purple ribbons were plentiful, and provided a spectacle no less brilliant, perhaps, than the bright regalia, cryptic badges, and gold lace, so common today.

Such a parade is described in the *Brampton Times* of 26th July, 1869:

"The Twelfth was cool and pleasant, the recent rain had nicely laid the dust, so that the Orangemen enjoyed their annual walk . . . The Loyalists of the Derry West District assembled in strong force in Brampton, no less than eighteen Lodges forming the procession, which numbered 2,000. A gayer scene we scarcely expect to see in this Town. The showy cloaks of the 'Knights of the Scarlet,' the badges and decorations of the Officers and full privates; the many flaunting banners waving in the friendly July breeze—

"About 2 o'clock the Orangemen marched to the Wesleyan Church, where they were edified by an excellent and appropriate sermon by the Rev. Wm. McFadden. At the close of the service John Coyne, Esq., announced that a collection would be taken up for the benefit of the Protestant Orphans' Home, a noble object . . . the handsome sum of \$34.00."

This occasion passed off quietly without a single incident "to mar the harmony of the brotherhood, or disturb the public at large", but celebrations, even yet, were not without their disturbing elements as witness from the diary of T. W. Duggan:

"12th July, 1876 (Wednesday) Lodges coming in about 11-12 of them altogether make an awful noise—big crowd here—Masons over for dinner formed procession at 1:30 and marched to Haggert's grove near Park where Rev. Campbell preached to them—off at 4—all pretty quiet, big row up at Chas. Greenwood's about 2 o'clock woke me up fighting broke all glass &c in the house and rang the fire bell for assistance—quite a time. T. W. D."

This was the exception, however. Duggan's diary gen-

erally records a more peaceful scene:

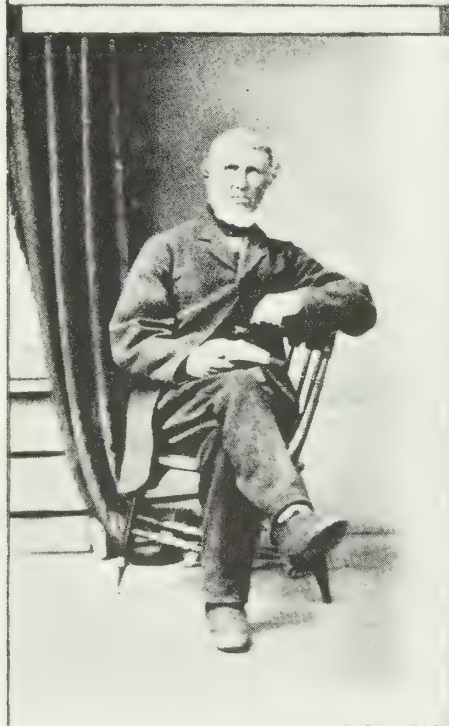
"12th July, 1878 (Friday) Glorious 12th opens very gloomy raining fast but cleared about 9.30 and the Orangemen came pouring in—formed in procession at 2 and went to Ag. Hall at 3—McIntyre, Argue and Denchfield addressed them—all orderly—some fine arches thro the town—great anxiety about Montreal—got Telegrams every $\frac{1}{2}$ hour . . . T. W. D.

"13th July, 1878 (Saturday) Excitement of 12th all over. arches still up some of them very nice . . . T. W. D."

As parades continued, so did Roman Catholic interference, and there are exciting stories of conflicts. Not everyone was sensible enough to treat the antagonism as a joke after the fashion of Bedelia Sweeney, the Haggerts' Roman Catholic maid, who, when challenged to 'walk' with an Orange lily on 12th July, 'got back at' her employers by attaching the lily suggestively to the collar of her dog. G. T. Wolfe tells of a death that took place in Albion township as an Orangeman was coming home from a parade at "Hell Town". The next year the meet was held in Centreville and Wolfe's grandfather vindicated the Order by riding his white horse into the hotel, "whereupon they threw everything and everybody right out onto the street".

In spite of occasional tragedies, the twelfth was, on the whole, a time of general rejoicing. Entire neighbourhoods entered into the spirit of the day. Even children helped make things go. Robert Moore's daughter, Margaret, remembers getting ten or fifteen cents for "minding the baby" for Mrs. Wilson who kept the hotel at Derry West. That good lady would thus be free to prepare the sizzling roasts of beef, mealy white potatoes, figure-eight doughnuts, and spicy apple pies anticipated with so much delight by hungry paraders. Ann Maria, daughter of John and grand-daughter of "Cheery" Armstrong, used to "beat the drum for her fat father" in the Orange parade. Jane Lougheed remembers the sashes and long, red, ermine-trimmed coats worn by Allen Lougheed (1820-1910) and his three sons, members of Lodge No. 10 which used to meet in "Oliver's clover fields". As a child Jane once climbed a cherry-tree in her grandfather James's orchard to watch the Orangemen go by. She got too far out on the branch, it broke, and she made a hasty and somewhat unexpected descent.

Preparations for a fitting commemoration of the glor-



Courtesy Miss Margaret Henry, T. A. Nixon, Miss Agnes Moore, & Mrs. Chas. Armstrong

COUNTY MASTERS

Above: Wm. Henry & his wife, John Nixon; below: Robt. Moore, A. F. Campbell



OLD BANNERS



Courtesy Rev. R. W. Allen, *The Conservator*, Miss M. Ardill, Mrs. W. J. Mills, Mrs. T. B. Jenkinson,
& Miss Sarah Hodgson

SOME PEEL COUNTY ORANGE RECTORS

Top row: *Thos. Leech*, *Wm. Walsh*, *Robt. Arnold*, *R. A. Spencer*; bottom row: *E. J. Fessenden*, *John Carry*, *Richard C. Cleary*.

ious twelfth were made long in advance, and members of purely rural lodges often drove great distances in order to be present at some important centre where a big celebration had been arranged. There were a vast number of things for each local committee to see to in such cases, and many controversial questions to decide.

For instance, the hall must be put in "good Protestant condition". That meant it had to be scrubbed, the windows had to be washed, perhaps a few repairs had to be made or the roof patched. If funds would run to it, the building might even receive a coat of paint.

Then there was the question of regalia, banners, arches, bands. Would the old regalia serve once more or should new be purchased? Was there money enough in the treasury to do that, taking into account all the other things required? There were long and anxious discussions and elaborate figuring. Sometimes there were acrimonious disputes, but generally there was only friendly emulation to make this the best twelfth the village had ever known, any arguments arising from nothing but a difference of opinion as to how best to do it.

Could jewels be purchased for the adornment of the officers, or would they have to be content with badges, ribbons, rosettes, buttons, and sashes? The ladies would come in useful here, and before manufactured regalia became common, loyal Orange wives would often be busy cutting and sewing on blue and orange pieces of silk.

If there was not a flagstaff in front of the hall, could one be procured and set up? Perhaps some worthy brother had a nice young pine on his wood-lot that he was willing to donate if the lodge members would come and get it. A voluntary flagstaff bee might be the result. If not, the Union Jack—as big a one as could be afforded—must float from the roof of the hall. Whatever happened, the flag must fly on the day of days.

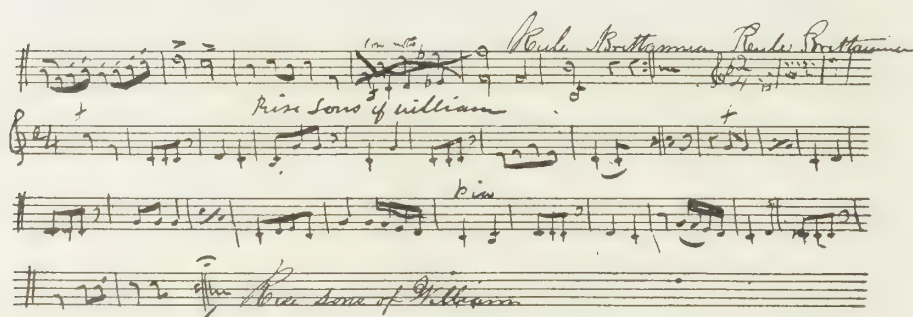
Then there was the lodge banner, the local pride. What would a parade be without a banner, or with one that was old and tattered? But banners cost as much as forty dollars, and that was a lot of money. Lieutenant John Ballantyne, husband of George Graham's daughter Sarah, and district master of Derry West, 1858-62, was the best banner-painter

in Peel. It sometimes took years to raise enough cash to buy one, yet, in the course of time, he supplied not only nearly all the lodges in Peel but also many outside. It was with pride and pleasure that a lodge marched behind one of these, and great care was taken of them.

Triumphal arches, though less permanent, were almost as important, and brethren must spare time from their other avocations to put up at least one. Three or four would be even better. Some brother handy with tools would, with volunteer assistance, run up the frame, others would scour the country for loads of evergreens to decorate it. No money could be spared for the purpose: they could do the work themselves and they must—usually they did it most willingly.

Music was another essential. Struggling infant lodges had been content with one drum and one fife, but from the middle of the century on, bands became ever larger. Some apostates leaned to brass, but Orangemen in general preferred the traditional wood-wind. Any boy with the slightest talent for music who hoped to grow up an Orangeman usually contrived to get hold of a fife or a drum. There would be practice parades up and down the village street with the kettle-drums rolling, the “wry-neck’d” fifes shrilling, and the big drum marking the beats.

Sometimes arrangements for music were made quite informally. L.O.L. No. 148, meeting on the Stinson property near Mono Mills, procured calf hides for the drum-



Courtesy Brig.-Gen. T. L. Kennedy

FROM MUSIC BOOK OF VICTORIA BRASS BAND, SYDENHAM, 1859

head through Robert McMullen, and brethren “playing the Musick” got “there Dues refunded and thare Dinners paid for”. Cedar Mills lodge also secured its music for the inex-

pensive investment of free meals and transportation.

There were occasions, however, when more was at stake, and Alfred Maw tells of one with a tragic outcome. The Tullamore band had been engaged by a district Orange association to play at a walk in Toronto in the late seventies. During luncheon in the city, one of the Peel visitors, distressed and ashamed at "the contrast between the big City bands and the Village organization", slunk away from his comrades and stove in the head of the big drum. Great was the consternation among his fellows when they discovered the supposed accident, but it was too late to effect repairs. The band could not enter the parade. When all were home again the news leaked out somehow, but the community agreed it was "the best thing that could have happened to save everyone's reputation".

Last, but most important of all in the opinion of many, was the question of refreshments. Where would the great banquet be held, and what taverns would be patronized? The tavern-keeper must be beyond suspicion as to his patriotism and Protestantism, but there were many such. Which would be likely to provide best fare and most liquor for least money? This was a point which exercised all minds, and old minute-books show how often opinion chopped and changed.

For instance, one lodge passed a resolution to dine together at the Graham house, Brampton. That was at its June meeting. But some dissatisfied members called a special meeting on 8th July, which slipped through a resolution selecting the Queen's. However, with only four days to go, the proponents of the Graham house resolution managed to call a third meeting, rescind the resolution in favour of the Queen's, and re-pass the original motion.

Another time a lodge resolved not to go to Brampton for the twelfth. An amendment was submitted that the lodge go to Brampton after all. A further amendment that the lodge meet at the hall at 6.30 a.m., and have no demonstration. An amendment that the lodge go to Cooksville. An amendment that the lodge merely meet at ten o'clock to transact business. An amendment to have dinner about one, a sermon about six, a meeting at the hall, followed by adjournment. Finally, after all these motions had been dis-

cussed at great length and defeated one by one, members concluded that, after all, there were worse ways of spending the time than going to Brampton, and adopted the rejected suggestion to that effect.

Sometimes lodges grew almost desperate in the struggle to make this momentous decision. An example was Enniskillen L.O.L. No. 260 wherein, after motions favouring respectively, Tottenham, Bolton, and Hamilton, it was finally moved and seconded, although lost, "That each brother have the pleasure of going where he pleases".

The means of transit offered another knotty problem. L.O.L. No. 61 debated each year throughout the seventies whether members should go by buggy or on foot. Generally buggies carried the day. Members of Meadowvale L.O.L. No. 708, on the other hand, preferred travelling on horseback. More gregarious Orangemen packed themselves into heavy or light waggons suitably decorated.

The banqueters of those days were not extravagant as present-day prices go. One lodge dined at Brampton on the great day at a cost of twenty-five cents a head, and this was considered almost exorbitant, for on the members' return in the evening they had a second dinner, but this time a cheap one. Another lodge sent a delegate,

"To see Brother Burd about a dinner for 25 cents each and if he cant get a dinner for the amount stated to see outhier parties and arrange for our diner".

The cost of one lodge outing in 1867 was as follows:

Liquors at Meadowvale	\$ 2.25
Toll (Tollgates on the highway)	1.70
Lunch at Brampton	10.00
Liquor at Derry coming home	1.65
8 teams	16.00
Wm. Harris for dinner	35.00
Streetsville Brass Band	20.00
Ribons [sic]	2.80

Bolton L.O.L. No. 146 seems to have been more extravagant. Brother Evans received \$31.50 for 42 dinners in 1861; next year \$22.50 procured 36. In 1865 Evans charged 3s. 1½d. per head, and in 1866 75¢. Sometimes, where high prices were being paid, there was a special levy, and on one occasion Enniskillen L.O.L. No. 613 resolved that each man should pay 1s. 3d., the remainder being supplied from lodge

funds.

Of course, as shown in the account above, dinner was not the only concession to the inner man. A great deal of thought and no inconsiderable expenditure went to what was euphoniously termed 'refreshments'. By this time, beer had risen to 30¢ a gallon while whisky was sometimes as high as 75¢.

Nevertheless, Orangemen were still thirsty and their thirst must be quenched somehow. The day generally started out cheerfully. The minute-books of L.O.L. No. 455 note that no member was to get more than one cup of whisky before he started out but other lodges got in two or three gallons of whisky and two or three gallons of beer, which looks like a more generous ration. Then there were stops en route—progressively less extensive as thirsts were assuaged. One lodge, for example, records among its expenses in 1866,

Paid for refreshments to Samuel Greer	\$4.00
" " whiskey & beer " Robt. Barmby	2.12½
" " " to Michael Dwyer	1.50
	<hr/>
	7.62½

At the same time drunkenness was regarded as a most heinous offence. Fines for absence or unbecoming conduct were often remitted and, indeed, some lodges made this so constant a practice that the imposition of a fine was regarded as a mere formality. To guard against this it was resolved by one lodge on the 12th that any brother "becoming intoxicated in this day be fined the sum of \$5 and *no refund*".

To return to the preparations. When all was in readiness, the hall fit for visitors, regalia and banners furbished up, arches erected, bands in readiness, order of march arranged, and banquet contracted for, the memorable day would at length arrive. It would be heralded, at the first streak of dawn or earlier, by gunshots, ringing of bells, and pounding on anvils. Spring waggons full of farmers who had risen in the darkness, would rattle into town. Rural lodges would often be in session by six a.m. and would remain during the forenoon. It was a great day for paying up back dues. Many Orangemen who lived in isolated and out-of-the-way places would make a point of coming in on at least that one day of

the year and establishing contact with the lodge to which they belonged. It is no wonder they had to begin early.

For economy's sake, at least one meal during the day was taken in the hall. If it happened to be midday lunch, the brethren would not leave until afternoon. If it was evening meal, they might leave fairly early in the morn, the hour depending on the distance to be travelled.

The high point of the day came when "King Billy", mounting his white horse, took his place at the head of the procession. The drum major would hold his baton high in the air and give the signal. "Boom!" would go the big drum. The fifes would break into a stirring Protestant air. Away down the main street of the village all would stream, swaying banners aloft, blue and orange streamers fluttering in the breeze, a cloud of dust billowing up under the marching feet, and all the small boys running alongside and cheering like mad.

The thing was whole-souled and spontaneous, a voluntary expression of feelings rooted in the hearts of the people who participated and in most of those who looked on and cheered so lustily. It was embattled British Protestantism proclaiming to the world its pride in its freedom, its great traditions, and its willingness to fight and die for its principles.

By the time the procession had covered the route mapped out for it, the afternoon would be under way, and it would be time to eat again. If the noon lunch had been taken in the hall festivities were now in order and brethren adjourned to an appointed tavern for a formal dinner that would wind up the celebration in fitting manner. There would be speeches and patriotic toasts. Proceedings might be prolonged to a late hour according to the standards of the day, though not according to modern ideas. Many of the participants would have far to go; all of them would have been up early. A few boisterous spirits might decide to make a night of it, but the majority would be on their way home by ten at latest. And so another twelfth would have come and gone.

L.O.L. No. 148 seems to have had a very pleasant practice which it occasionally followed in connection with church parades. On 13th June, 1894, for instance, it was

resolved to "attend divine Service in the woods" on the Sunday before 12th July, Brothers Laidlaw and Kennedy to conduct the service. In 1895 there are similar arrangements to meet in Stinson's bush.

In less careful orthography the secretary of another lodge announces what seem to be kindred plans for one 5th November when members were to "go to preachen [preaching] to the rigges [Ridges] . . . and then get their dinner".

Oyster suppers were also popular on the fifth, which was second in importance only to the illustrious twelfth, and in north-eastern Peel at least, were generally preceded by parades. For such a celebration one year, L.O.L. No. 148 ordered 4 gallons of oysters, 6 cans of salmon, and 3 boxes of biscuits. Brother Walton was to see after the vinegar. Next year they used only 3 gallons of oysters with their salmon and biscuits, but added half a pound of tea and twenty-five cents' worth of sugar.

During the peace which followed the hectic struggle for Confederation, a change came over the Orange Order somewhat akin to that in the country at large. The first two-thirds of the nineteenth century had been spent in deepening the stream of Orange activity until it irrigated the very roots of Canada's national life. Succeeding years were to be spent in broadening the course and strengthening the current with virile tributaries.

The first accessions were from youth. Children's organizations had begun on a small scale in the fifties. A Grand Lodge of 'Prentice Boys applied for recognition in 1861. But the first important collateral line was that of the Orange Young Britons which in 1869 received official recognition from the Grand Orange Lodge of British America.

There is no record that any Peel delegates were present at the first official meeting of Orange Young Britons in Ottawa, but in the course of the next decade or two, the county gave this branch of Orangeism many strong supporters. Wesley McKenna tells of one meeting in Hamilton where they manufactured a new degree which, however, was thrown out by the Grand Lodge "because there was too much of the Arch in it".

He also tells of meetings in Toronto and Port Hope.

The former seems to have been especially uproarious, and, according to McKenna, three of the delegates slept in four beds. Questioned as to whether he did not mean that four of

them slept in three beds, he adhered to his statement, but seemed uncertain whether the beds were occupied simultaneously or in rotation. He did, however, make a vague reference to a pillow-fight and tying bed clothes in knots, although his memory in connection with these details seemed a bit hazy.

When the Britons' lodge to which McKenna belonged first walked, the members could think of no particularly attractive route or destination. They "just walked across the field to keep up the old custom".

McKenna, who is one of the old-timers of L.O.L. No.

5, has a lively sense of humour and tells of the past with great gusto. One of his favourite stories is this:

"I married a black Grit. Her father was a good Protestant, but not an Orangeman. He hated the Orangemen. There were a great many orange lilies on his farm, which would have been useful on the twelfth of July. But somehow on the night of the eleventh the cow got out and ate them all. When my wife said something to her father about it, instead of expressing regret, the old man only said that it was a pity the cow could not have eaten all the Orangemen as well."

In Glasgow, in 1873, the first Canadian president, D'Arcy Boulton, was elected to the chairmanship of the Imperial Grand Orange Council. In those days, there were neither addresses nor reports by retiring officers. Little work was done between meetings. Thus the presiding officer of each gathering (after that of 1867 in London) seems to have been appointed at the moment of assembly. This was done quite informally—especially so, perhaps, in Boulton's case. He was nominated, before most of the outside dele-



gates arrived, by two Scottish members, and assumed his position. Next morning his appointment was moved again by William Johnston and J. J. Bond (United States) who had just arrived. The Grand Master of Scotland explained that Grand Council had convened on 15th July as planned, and that Boulton's election was already an accomplished fact. "Of course," he added, he had,

"No objection to the motion of our worthy Brother Johnston, but cordially approved of it. As a good tale is none the worse for being told twice, neither is a good motion for being twice proposed and twice unanimously agreed to."

No comment is made on the awkwardness which would have ensued had Johnston's motion been in favour of a different candidate. Presumably the choice was always pretty certain before the meeting, for there seem to have been no contests. Still, the incident is a pleasant one, and flattering to the Canadian delegate and the Grand Lodge he represented.

The seventies were, on the whole, years of peace, prosperity, and expansion. In 1874 came the organization of a Grand Lodge in South Australia. In 1876 The Orange Association of Scotland united with The Orange Institution of Great Britain, and in the same year, at the Imperial Grand Council meeting in Londonderry, Bowell became the fourth president, and the second from British America.

The Grand Black Chapter of British America was, according to the *Sentinel*, instituted in 1874 for the more efficient control of Provincial Grand Chapters. In 1866 Upper Canada had had fourteen Royal Black Preceptories working under warrants from the Grand Black Chapter of Ireland. Four of these were dormant, including Sand Hill, No. 110. Among Peel's active preceptories were one at Mono Mills, No. 126, working under William Carson, Thomas Prewn, and James Patterson, and the other at Brampton, No. 111, under John Nixon, Robert Quin, and S. Grafton. Royal Black Preceptory No. 34, which had met in Bolton in 1856, had already disappeared. By 1874 there were twenty-one chapters, including Sand Hill, which were active again. Brampton and Mono Mills were still at work and there was activity elsewhere too.

At the meeting where the new organization was in-

stituted, R. Irwin represented Preceptory No. 111, Streetsville, and was one of eighteen members from Ontario West. In 1857 he sat on the Grand Committee of the Orange Association and in the same year an advertisement of his pottery at Streetsville appeared in the *Brampton Standard*. William Henry, possibly of Cheltenham, represented Preceptory No. 314, Georgetown. P. T. McCollum, D.G.M., another Peel man who belonged to the Georgetown chapter, was listed among the western Grand Officers present. Within a year, the Black Institution had spread to Winnipeg and seven preceptories had been organized in the United States. A regular day for celebration was adopted—Derry day, 12th August.

Another landmark in Canadian Orange history was set up in 1877 when E. F. Clarke of Toronto, assisted by John Hewitt, took over the *Orange Sentinel and Protestant Advocate* which had been started by Frank S. Bailey in 1875. This is considered the first official paper of the Orange Order, so the little *Orange Lily* of the fifties seems to have been a "wild" blossom which sprang untended and withered unobserved. Under the new management the name of the paper was changed to the *Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate*, later known as the *Sentinel*. Its value in effecting the solidarity of the Order is difficult to overestimate.

Clarke was four times mayor of Toronto and sat in the House of Commons, but carried on the *Sentinel* all the while, for thirty years, with unflagging interest. At his death in 1905, the paper was taken over by H. C. Hocken, appointed senator in 1933, who directed it until 1930. Hewitt worked on circulation and, according to Hocken, secured a great many subscriptions in Peel.

In 1881 the Orange Mutual Benevolent Society was set up as an Insurance Society for the members of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario West. Soon afterwards, a new system of payment was adopted by other fraternal societies and the Orange group fell into line. Rates were subsequently increased as experience proved the necessity of this and there was some hard feeling, but the work done by the Insurance Society was so valuable that the sufferings of the few were soon forgotten in the benefits to the many. Even-

tually the scheme was extended to cover Orangemen everywhere and the desire to permit this was one of the important factors in the eventual triumph of Orange incorporation.

The final touch which wives and sisters of Orangemen felt was needed to make the Institution complete, was administered in 1888 when the Ladies' Protestant Benevolent Association, the forerunner of the L.O.B.A., was formed at Hamilton. Soon the aim of the women to secure Orange recognition was endorsed by county and provincial lodges. After one rejection and a stormy discussion at the next session, Miss Mary Cullum and Mrs. John J. Tulk secured the crowning recognition from the Grand Lodge of British America.



Even before this happy event women had participated in parades. Newspaper accounts mention them away back in the forties and fifties. Derry West had its own special pride, "Orange Jennie" Neville, who used to "wear the colours and walk with the men" long before there was any women's organization for her to join.

Now women have a recognized place in parade as well as hall. Their white-clad ranks, with gay sashes and streamers, make a pleasing addition to the walks, and women's bands give their masculine rivals a run for their money. At the 1931 celebration Mrs. Ferguson-Burke, grand-daughter of Ogle R. Gowan, in an address at Exhibition Park, Toronto, commented on the presence of five thousand women paraders as fraught with unbounded promise. Truly did she say of them, in scriptural wise:

"The Lord giveth the Word, and the women who publish the tidings are a great host."

Previous to the admission of women, moreover, the Order had felt their soothing and restraining influence. In 1862, Nassau Gowan had warned the primary lodges of western Ontario against remaining in session too late, so that brethren would be kept "from their homes until unseasonable hours, which exerts an injurious influence on the minds of their families, and prejudices them against our Order".

W. E. Harris of Burnett L.O.L. No. 5 has assured the author that he "never saw an Orangeman drunk", and that wives never complained in the old days no matter how late their husbands stayed out, or what their breath smelled like when they came in, but "were as intensely Orange in their sentiment as the men". Still Gowan's was doubtless a wise precaution.

Furthermore—though this can scarcely be attributed entirely to the influence of the more frivolous sex—a new sobriety, which did not confine its activities to the control of refreshments, was gradually making itself felt. In 1857 it was resolved:

"That this Grand Lodge, while leaving every Member of the Order free to exercise his individual rights upon the subject of Balls, it deems it desirable emphatically to declare that it disapproves of the name of the Society being used in connection with Balls."

Such severity seems disproportionate to the mild supper dances which, in Tullamore, went under the name of balls. The rules for attending such affairs as reported in the fifties were as follows:

"1st that all Brethren belonging to the lodge No 61 shall appear in full uniform at the hour of 7 o'clock P.M. at Brother Muns Inn Tullamore

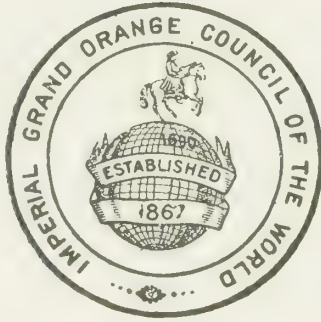
2 Any Brother violating the laws of the institution shall be fined accordingly

3rd it is further agreed that all the strangers shall sit at the first Table after that it shall be at the option of the managers to fill up the Table."

Similarly the Orange soirées, forbidden in 1857 except with consent of district lodge, seem to have been quiet, agreeable affairs. Mrs. Robert Birmingham, daughter of Andrew Fleming, a beautiful singer, used often to attend these in Peel and furnish an interlude between the serious speeches which comprised the bulk of the program. She sometimes grew a little weary of such concert work, particularly the long rides over rough roads, but her father, who was by way of being campaign manager for Hillyard Cameron, and who sensed political as well as social and fraternal importance in such informal gatherings, was firm with her.

On 11th April, 1878, the *Sentinel* condemned dancing at Orange gatherings, and not long afterwards Enniskillen L.O.L. No. 260 put on what can only be called a pink tea at

the fashionable time of four to six o'clock. The old roistering days were now, to all intents and purposes, gone forever. After the 70's, the Orangemen expressed themselves less and less through social activities and public demonstrations, and more and more through benevolence and the exertion of political pressure.



CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL CROSS-CURRENTS

*You Orangemen of each degree,
Unite and join, be firm and steady,
With heart and hand, like William's band,
And at your post be always ready.*

—JOHN WILSON

IN CANADA even more than in Ireland, the Orange Order was cradled in politics. Canadian Orangemen first combined in a Grand Lodge in order to crush the more adequately an embryo revolution. Religious issues were still negligible in Upper Canada in 1830, and for some decades thereafter. Orangemen strove primarily to preserve the political status quo and to crush nascent unrest.

To this end their leaders entered parliament. In 1830, when the Order was barely started, Gowan was defeated, but he was elected in 1834, and was a member intermittently during the next quarter century. His lead was followed by others. Soon Orangemen at large learned to exercise their vote with discrimination and to demand, in return for their support, pledges that candidates would not let windy talk of freedom and of responsible government sweep them from the moorings of loyalty.

Macgeorge of Streetsville voiced this mood when, in the *Hamilton Gazette* during the fifties, he expressed his conviction that the Orange Association would "not be backward to engage in conflict with the Blotched Demons of Democracy". Indeed, in the early sixties one naive local master felt it necessary to ask Grand Lodge whether "reformers" or grits were allowed in the Orange Order at all.

When Macgeorge wrote, maps of the province were already "everywhere dotted with lodges", and he was convinced that their machinery, if properly manipulated, could be of inestimable political value. Nevertheless, the Order long seemed backward in exercising political pressure. In 1862, the Grand Lodge of Western Ontario was reminded that a Conservative parliament had refused Orangemen an Act of Incorporation, and that the Conservative City of Toronto had proscribed them from its police force. If Orangemen had stood together then, when parties were

evenly balanced and the political situation difficult, they might, as assured by their officers, have won every right to which they were entitled by "intelligence, wealth and respectability of . . . numbers and principles".

They did not absorb the idea at the time, but it percolated gradually. Little by little they learned to resist—as Dr. Potter, Grand Chaplain of England, was afterwards to adjure the Grand Orange Council to do—the temptation to "consider the claims of political friends" who, when the crisis comes, "bid for the Roman vote rather than stand upon Orange principles". On this subject Potter quoted Disraeli—always a popular figure among Orangemen.

At last Orangemen learned their lesson. In the first elections for the new Dominion and its provinces, they could not succeed everywhere as in Peel. Still they were securing an ever larger and stronger representation. Also, they were beginning to keep closer tab and bring refractory members to time.

In the early seventies, the struggle for incorporation, dating back now for nearly a quarter century, was taken over by provincial champions. It was natural to hope that the newly erected province of Ontario might be more amenable to Orange influence than the Dominion house, with its strong representation from French Canada. Western Ontario now led in the demand, and Ontario East, as before, was in full accord. Whether Orange opinion was not yet unanimous, or whether old local rivalries were thus revived is uncertain. At any rate, some members representing constituencies with a strong Orange element are said to have opposed the bill. It was passed, but the Liberal premier, Oliver Mowat, was so uncertain of public feeling, or pretended to be so uncertain, that he reserved the measure for consideration by the federal house. The Dominion Conservatives refused to be involved with anything of so explosive a nature. Discreetly they sent Mowat's problem back to his own political arena, where it remained a political football for many years.

Obstacles have never daunted Orangemen, and Mowat's evasions only made them concentrate the more upon securing incorporation. All hesitation vanished. County and primary lodges were united. Still, the united effort of

Ontario East and Ontario West was insufficient, and the sessions of 1877 were consequently stormy and bitter.

Orangemen could but attribute their failure to Roman Catholic influence. As a result, religious antagonism, which had been less marked in Canada than in Ireland, began gradually to harden to unwavering enmity. It is significant that in the very year in which the fight for incorporation was resumed, the following resolution as to separate schools was passed:

"Resolved,—That in the opinion of this Right Worshipful Grand Lodge the time has arrived when the Orangemen of Canada, without reference to politics or political parties, must unite in one grand political phalanx in order to stop the encroachments of the Romish hierarchy upon the body politic of this country, and that the following platform be adopted:—

1. Unswerving and untiring allegiance to the Mother Country and British Connexion.
2. No grants of money from the public purse for sectarian purposes.
3. No Separate Schools, but free secular education for all.
4. Taxation of all real property held by religious bodies upon its fair assessed value.
5. The opening up of all public institutions in the land, religious or otherwise, to public inspection by Government officers."

Meanwhile, in 1876, the Conservative party had instituted its famous series of picnics for a discussion of the merits of the new "National Policy". The elements of this—tariff for revenue and for the encouragement of home manufactures, and imperial preference—had already been urged upon the legislature in 1849 by the Johnstown council, through the initiative of the warden, Ogle R. Gowan. In other parts of the country where less spade-work had been done beforehand, the picnics were invaluable.

Peel being one of these doubtful constituencies, it was decided to hold a monster picnic in Brampton, in Elliott's grove or Haggert's bush, about where the agricultural buildings and grounds are situated. There were bountiful tables where it must be confessed that naughty little Grit boys partook as heartily of chicken and pie, or lemonade and cake as the orthodox Tory children.

About 2.30 p.m. the speaking commenced, among the distinguished participants being Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, and the Honourable William McDougall,

sometimes called "Wandering Willie", because, although appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, he had been prevented by the Riel Rebellion from crossing the border into the province.

The picnic was a huge success and undoubtedly an important factor in the election of Lieutenant-Colonel William Elliott, the Conservative candidate, son of the first secretary of Meadowvale L.O.L. No. 708 and himself a keen member of the same lodge.

During the week between nomination day, 10th September, 1878, and election day, 17th September, it rained continuously. T. W. Duggan, deputy sheriff, tells how many bridges were swept away on the Etobicoke and Credit. To

distribute the ballot papers and swear in the deputies he had to cross streams on horse-back. Torrents were rushing down Main street, Brampton, stores were closed, and boats out. But Orangemen were not afraid of wet weather and gave their man a majority of nearly one hundred. Cardwell also stood by the old cause, electing Thomas White, 1218-961, in preference to James Pattullo, uncle of the author's kinsman, Bartle Bull Pattullo, and related also to the Honourable Thomas Dufferin Pattullo of British Columbia.

In this election year Henry Merrick, M.P. for Leeds and descendant of the founders of Merrickville, Ontario, succeeded Bowell as Grand Master of British America.

Under the leadership of Cameron, Coyne, Bowell, and their ilk, Orangemen had been freed from their more obvious disabilities. They had tried their strength and were now ready to enter upon the final struggle for incorporation.



J. W. BENGOUGH

"THE PRINCE OF ORANGE"

Sir Mackenzie Bowell in Orange robes, brandishes a sword inscribed "Anything to beat Mackenzie", and rides into power on the shoulders of Sir Hector Langevin, leader of Quebec ultramontanes, over trampled doctrines of Orange liberty and loyalty. The scroll which inflames Langevin declaring against church interference in civil matters, but the program in his pocket definitely advocates this.

About the end of Bowell's mastership, a series of encounters with Roman Catholics roused the tempers of Orangemen to the fever heat in which most great advances have been made. In 1877 Hackett was killed during an Orange parade in Montreal, and primary lodges elsewhere passed resolutions of sympathy and collected funds for legal proceedings against Roman Catholics. In the following year the Mayor forbade a procession, and there was more rioting, in the course of which some of the Orange leaders were arrested. The *Sentinel* came out with a hair-raising account of this fiendish conduct. The illustration showed a Union Jack turned upside-down—"the way it floats in Quebec just now". Head-lines announced the "TERRIBLE TWELFTH", with "Canada's Commercial Capital Controlled by Cutthroats". "Desperate Doings by Deluded Demons"—later identified as "Bigot Beaudry and his Bands of Blackguards"—had "Outraged Orange Organizations" and "Prostrated Protestant Principles". "Brutes with Bludgeons" had "Besieged and Bulldozed" "Loyalists" and "Locked them in Limbo". All in all, it was a sight which the editor of the *Sentinel* could scarcely survey with sanity. In Brampton, as already noted, news was telegraphed every half hour during the celebration.

Lodges everywhere were sympathetic with their Montreal comrades and small lodges in Peel sent contributions of eight or ten dollars to help in the legal expenditures which inevitably followed.

The pious Samuel Richardson, whose story is told in *Spadunk*, seized the occasion of riots in 1877 and 1878, to write to the *Sentinel* urging prohibition of "refreshment" booths in Queen's Park, Toronto, on 12th July.

"Experience has shown us that those people who get permission to sell temperance drinks, when they get to the Park, sell intoxicating liquors of the very worst description. One or two glasses of their vile decoctions are enough to set people crazy for the remainder of that day, and often have led men to commit crimes who would not have done so only for the coloured poisons that are usually sold on the 12th by unprincipled men."

In such temperance effort, Richardson's friend, Bartholomew Bull, the author's great-grandfather, was steadfastly behind him.

A contemporary resolution of sympathy with Irish

Orangeism is almost as emphatic as tales of the Montreal riots. Canadian Orangemen thought the vacillating policy of the Radical government had pandered too often to "the Romish Hierarchy". The result was "a state of confusion and anarchy" in which there was no safety for "lives and property of loyal men and true subjects". They deplored this, and prayed that the ship of state would soon be piloted by men with firmer, steadier hands, and not afraid to maintain Protestant liberties.



J. W. BENGOUGH

THERE'S NO PLACE LIKE ROME

A cartoon of 1882 takes on fresh interest in 1936. Nurse Public Opinion listens angrily as the spoiled child (representing Archbishop Lynch) asks Papa Mowat and big brother (Honourable Adam Crooks, Q.C., Minister of Education) for a separate high school and college to play with as well as a public school.

Merrick, according to the *Sentinel*, was noted for his business ability, tact, and energy, but he does not seem to have been a strong, aggressive leader. Although he was a member of the Ontario Legislative Assembly from 1871 to 1886, and made "great exertions" on behalf of Orange bills, his term of office proved, on the whole, uneventful.

The Orange Mutual Benevolent Society, begun in Ontario West and later described as "the strongest fraternal insurance society in the Dominion", now provided convincing arguments as to the necessity of incorporation. It was not made a party measure, however, and private members' bills introduced in 1883 and 1884, failed to pass. Representatives weighed the strength of feeling in their constituencies, and a majority

decided that Orangemen were less dangerous to offend than Roman Catholics.

Otherwise the outlook seemed bright enough. In 1879, the Imperial Grand Orange Council met at Ottawa. In 1881, Grand Lodge passed a resolution condemning as dis-

loyal all Protestants who had their children educated at Roman Catholic convents.

The first Orange lodge in Alberta received its warrant, according to the Centenary *Sentinel*, in 1883. This step must have been welcomed with great delight by James Lougheed, later Sir James, grandson of James Lougheed of Derry West. This distinguished lawyer had begun his Orange career in Peel but had gone to Calgary in 1882, five years after he was called to the bar. His brother Samuel had always said he would never be an Orangeman until he was old enough to wear a plug hat, but Sir James, while still a stripling, had been an Orange Young Britons' chaplain and carried a Bible in the county parades. In 1889 he became senator; in 1906, Conservative leader in the Senate; and after the Great War, Minister of Civil Re-establishment.

Even before Lougheed went to Calgary, Joseph Williams, also of Irish descent, had gone from Westervelt's Corners to make his fortune in the West. He worked on construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway between Banff and the Pacific, served during the second Riel Rebellion, and finally in Calgary, where he participated in Orange parades in the late eighties and early nineties.

David Lynch Scott, a lawyer, born and educated in Brampton, went west in 1882 and attained distinction. His military career is outlined in *From Brock to Currie*. As one of the Crown Counsel in Riel's trial, he displayed striking jurisprudent talents, and eventually became first Chief Justice of Alberta.

In 1884, W. J. Parkhill, a native-born Irishman from John Rutledge's home county, was elected Grand Master. Parkhill is described as a very tall man, powerfully built and wearing a long iron-grey beard. During the Fenian Raids he had served as company sergeant major. Despite his loud, resounding, and sometimes terrifying voice and his soldierly bearing, he was a genial man who, although he never had much money, always had plenty of friends, among them Mayor E. F. Clarke and Senator William Bennett.

He was well known to Peel Orangemen, having settled in Vaughan township on the borders of the county. His first Orange affiliation in this country was with L.O.L. No. 28, Woodbridge, and his first Provincial Grand Lodge

appointment came in 1868, at Brampton. George Rutledge was growing too old now to attend lodge regularly, but he was very happy when William Graydon of Streetsville, long district master of Derry West, brought him word of Parkhill's election.

Graydon was one of Peel's staunch Orangemen of the seventies and eighties. Both Streetsville lodges seem to have had their financial ups and downs. Suppers, concerts, lectures, soirées, and various other means of raising money were tried but all without much success. In April, 1893, "Past Master Fullerton reported that the concert committee [of L.O.L. No. 290] had ended their labours and this lodge was indebted to them in the sum of twenty-five cents". In 1893 L.O.L. No. 263 had a concert with a deficit of the same staggering proportions! Sometimes the problem assumed a less comical aspect. When a real financial crisis was on the horizon and Graydon's lodge scarcely knew how to meet its bills, he seems often to have advanced the necessary sums out of his own pocket. Three or four generations of the family have helped carry forward the banners of Canadian Orangeism, and Gordon Graydon, one of William's distant cousins, a member of Dublin L.O.L. No. 76, Campbell's Cross, saved the federal riding of Peel for the Conservative party during the Liberal land-slide of 1935.

Gordon Graydon's great-grandfather, William Henry of Cheltenham, had founded the Cheltenham lodge and it is now named in his honour. A second William, another trusty Orangeman, was, in the eighteen-eighties, a vigorous man in the prime of life. He was very keen on thoroughbred running horses which he handled with some success, but his chief interest, like that of his father and his descendants, was in his fraternal work.

Alexander Franklin Campbell, editor of the Brampton *Conservator*, seems to have been county master of Peel at the time of Parkhill's appointment. He had begun his career as a schoolmaster at Palestine, near George Rutledge's old home, and perhaps learned upon the academic rostrum the rapid-fire utterance which later, in provincial legislature, earned him his nickname of "Gatling-gun". He was, at one time or another, mayor of Brampton, chairman of its school board, and president of the Peel Agricultural Society. He

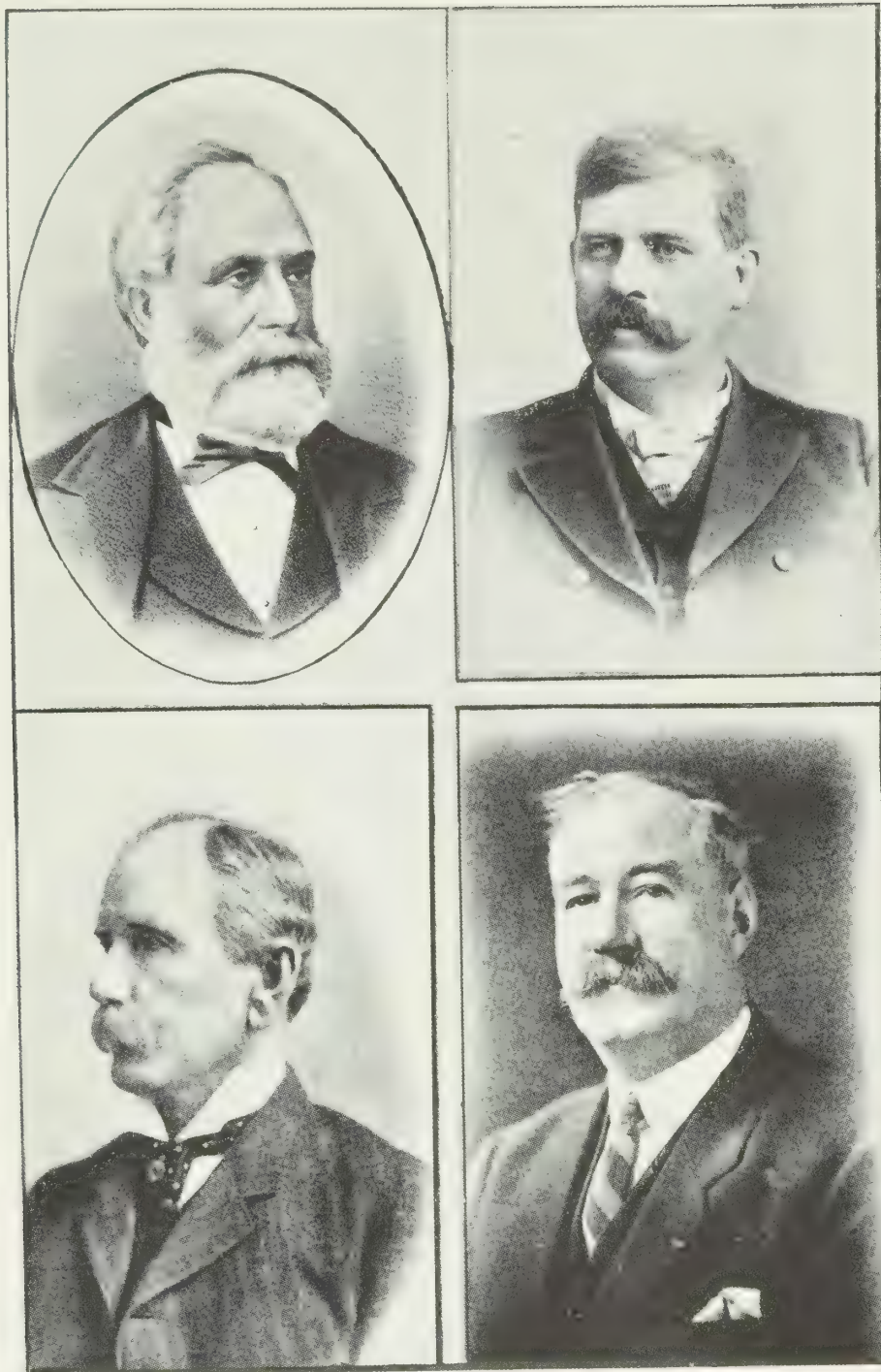
was also interested in opening up the West, whither he eventually moved.

Robert Peel Campbell, a son of "Squire" Francis Campbell, the lusty Orange patriot of 1837, had been county master before A. F. Campbell's term and was to succeed him. He was, in 1877, master of L.O.L. No. 76, Campbell's Cross. In addition he was, like the Rutledges, a devout Methodist, for the Order was no longer, as it had once seemed likely to become, a private preserve of the Church of England. He held various municipal offices also, and served as customs officer in Brampton for eight years. His second cousin, Reverend Peter Campbell, was also a prominent Orangeman, being Deputy Grand Chaplain for a number of years.

Another rising Orangeman of the eighties was Henry Burnett, J.P., born in 1847 of County Tyrone parentage. A skilled cabinet-maker and dignified undertaker, Burnett was highly respected in Brampton. He organized L.O.L. No. 604, which later amalgamated with No. 5, retaining the older warrant. He was district master of Derry West in 1886, and county master for many years.

Although Parkhill resigned in 1886, his brief mastership saw a crisis in the history of the Canadian West, and a fresh vindication of the principles of the Order. Parkhill, who had been company sergeant major, 12th York Militia Battalion, for twelve years, and had served during the Fenian Raids, was in 1885, at the time of the second Riel Rebellion, to see his younger brethren flock to their country's defence as zealously as had his own contemporaries and their forbears in days of yore. Manitoba lodges took pride in this first opportunity of proving their loyalty under fire. Toronto lodges were also represented, for they furnished 148 of the 250 Royal Grenadiers who were sent west to help suppress the rebellion.

New strength was infused into the Order by the Honourable N. Clarke Wallace, M.P., who became Grand Master in 1887. Wallace was a Canadian by birth, a business man, with a public school education. He was a man of striking appearance, well built, walking with a picturesque limp. He had keen grey eyes and a great head of heavy hair which is said to have captivated all spectators in the ladies'



Courtesy Mrs. W. O. Duncan, Canadian Annual Review, & Imperial Grand Orange Council of the World

GRAND MASTERS OF BRITISH AMERICA WHO WERE MEMBERS OF IMPERIAL GRAND ORANGE COUNCIL OF THE WORLD

Above: *Sir Mackenzie Bowell, M.P., Hon. N. Clarke Wallace, M.P.*; below: *Hon. T. S. Sproule, M.D., M.P., John Easton, J.P.*



Grand Royal Black Chapter of Ireland.



To all whom it may concern, We, the Master & Master & Registrar
 Pursuant to the Order of the Honorable Order of the Royal Black Knights
 Preceptory of the County of York, do hereby
 certify to all men and women in the knowledge of the said Order, that we have duly & well
 received, brother & constituted member of the said Order, ~~the~~ *Nevin McConnell* has gone through the
 several degrees hereunto affixed and has been regularly initiated, consecrated and
 confirmed in all the Rights, Titles, Honors and Dignities of that most Noble & Ancient
 Christian Order of a Royal Black Knight and is now a faithful & true member of Jesus
 Christ, and since his induction therein he was discharged with affection and integrity
 the relative and duties of the same, previously a Christian & devoted with mind, will and
 to the various temptations & trials preparatory to his admission & until such time
 as he should be admitted to the said Order, *Nevin McConnell* is
 all legally constituted Right Worshipful Encampments & faithful Brother in
 arms to all. In testimony of his good diligence and fidelity, we have
 delivered him this Certificate which, like the Olive Branch of Peace
 we commend into his hands, praying that the Eternal Three in One and
 One in Three may pardon all those who in anywise may have caused him
 Green and our hands & seal of Encampment this 23rd day of March 1855.

Right Worshipful Sir *William Levee* Master A.M.
William Levee D. Master I.M.
William Levee Registrar J.D.
William Levee Pursuant C.



Courtesy Mrs. A. H. McConnell

CERTIFICATE OF NEVIN MCCONNELL

gallery of the House. Above all, he possessed untold energy and determination, and was a born leader. On the nomination of John Perkins Bull, the author's grandfather, he had been elected to parliament in 1878 from West York, where he had already been for seven years master of the county Orange lodge. He continued to represent this constituency until his death in 1901. Politically and fraternally, too, he found much in common with such prominent Peel Orange Conservatives as W. A. McCulla, Wellington B. Willoughby, Richard Blain, and A. F. Campbell. He often assisted in his friends' election campaigns and was a familiar figure on Peel hustings. Indeed, a rabid Albion township Romanist once remarked truculently to William Rutledge, "I'm never quite sure which candidate I ought to oppose until I hear which one Clarke Wallace is supporting."

The qualities which made Wallace so successful as Grand Master were likewise responsible for his widespread popularity as treasurer of Woodbridge fair from 1878 until his death in 1902. Largely through his efforts, this fair outstripped every similar event in the Dominion.

Wallace would meet special trains at 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. Standing in the double phaeton that he drove with a span of horses, he would genially greet literally hundreds of guests. A band would play them to his office for refreshments, and thence to the fair grounds.

When the fair began at Pinegrove in 1847, John Gamble, general merchant, was president and William Harvey secretary. Other early directors were Thomas Graham, Levy Snider, and the author's grandfather, John Perkins Bull.

A year after opening it moved to Burwick—renamed Woodbridge in 1871. It was conducted on the Humber flats until Levy Snider, pioneer sawmill-owner, furnished material for a building. Hotels provided stabling for horses and cattle; triangular pig-pens and sheep-folds were constructed of fence-rails, and poultry exhibits were shown in their own coops. A hired tent protected fine arts, of which the author was often a judge. The 352-yard race-track was later enlarged to one third of a mile.

A banquet for directors, judges, and others, was a popular feature—held first in the Woodbridge House and later

in the upper storey of the Snider building, where it continued for ten years or more after the society moved. Torn down and rebuilt on the new site, it was destroyed by fire in 1907, and the banquet moved to the main agricultural building.

In developing the fair, Wallace seems to have spent a great deal of his own money as well as time. One year early in his tenure of office, bad weather had made attendance excessively small and there was a heavy deficit. Accordingly D. C. Longhouse, minor prize winner, decided not to try to collect. One day in the store Wallace reminded him, and pooh-poohed his qualms.

"No, no," he said, "as long as I'm connected with it, that's not the way Woodbridge fair will do business. Attendance or no attendance, our prize lists stand."

Such incidents gave a feeling of stability that was of unquestionable psychological importance in the fair's success.

Prominent guests included Sir Charles Tupper, Captain McMaster, The Honourable J. Israel Tarte, Beattie Nesbitt, Sir Wm. and Henry Howland, E. F. Clarke, Lieutenant-Governor George Kirkpatrick (K.C.M.G., 1897), Honourable George S. Henry, John ("Tally-ho") Macdonald, Hartley Dewart, K.C., Sir Henry Drayton, John Ross Robertson, Honourable Forbes Godfrey, W. F. MacLean of the *Toronto World*, Sir Richard Cartwright, Wallace's bitter opponent in the House but warm personal friend, Sir John Carling of London (whom the author always used to tell his father represented both Methodists and brewers in Canada's cabinet), Sir James Whitney, Honourable T. Mayne Daly, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Honourable Thos. White and his son, Robt. S., and Sir Oliver Mowat, who had bad weather when he opened the fair, but, as his Conservative friends jocularly assured him, no worse than he deserved.

On one occasion, a political guest having been refreshed and seeing himself surrounded by good Conservatives, imagined he was at a political meeting, and started to denounce the Grits in most unmeasured terms, especially attacking his renegade friend, J. Israel Tarte. All efforts to interrupt were vain. "If he did not mention the Orange Order also," Clarke Wallace was wont to say afterwards, "it

was only because he happened to overlook it.”

Under Wallace, the internal organization of the Orange Association was greatly developed. There was a large increase in membership, especially in the West, which was expanding rapidly. By 1888, when Grand Lodge dared for the first time to call a meeting in Winnipeg, the total membership of 18,254 with 619 lodges, included 24 lodges in Manitoba and 1 in British Columbia. This period saw also organization in Grand Lodges of British Columbia, the prairie provinces, and Prince Edward Island, as well as the foundation of the Ladies' Orange Benevolent Association.

Among those present at Grand Lodge in Winnipeg were, doubtless, some of the Taylor family. William Taylor had left Peel with his seven children in 1874 and the two eldest, John Wesley, and William Ralph, joined the Orange Order soon after their arrival in Manitoba. F. G. Taylor, the youngest son, born in the West, and now lieutenant colonel and Justice of the Court of King's Bench, is also an Orangeman, a member of L.O.L. No. 1351, Portage la Prairie, for about twenty years. William Ralph was master of this lodge in 1896, in 1897 district master of High Bluff, and in 1899 county master of Portage la Prairie and Deputy Grand Master of Manitoba. He would naturally have been elected Grand Master in the following year but is said to have stood aside to allow the Honourable D. H. McFadden, M.D., M.P.P., to receive this influential position. After Sharpe's term as Grand Master, 1906-08, he received the reward of his unselfishness by being "elected Grand Master out of a blue sky".

Progress of the Order abroad paralleled that in Canada. Lodges were reported in Gibraltar, Malta, Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, and Cape Town, and new Grand Lodges were begun in Tasmania and West Australia. By this time, likewise, Canadians were following with interest the activities of the Australasian Grand Council, which took precedence over the Grand Lodges of that region as the Grand Lodge of British America over those of the provinces. The Imperial Grand Orange Council approved plans for the Enniskillen Memorial Orphans' Home, and demonstrations throughout the Empire commemorated the bicentenary of the arrival of William of Orange at Torbay.

In spite of this good news Canadian Orangemen were

not satisfied. The refusal of successive parliaments to incorporate the Order had drawn an invidious distinction between their activities and those of other fraternal societies or even of their traditional foes, the Roman Catholics. The progress of the Order abroad emphasized its failure at home in this one vital matter. The new Grand Master was a highly emotional orator and a skilled political tactician. The machine which had been designed and constructed by Gowan, and had been oiled, serviced, and put in good working order by Cameron, was now to prove, in the hands of Wallace and McCarthy, the most effective, single political instrument Canada had ever seen.



CHAPTER XIV

ONE FIGHT MORE

*Now Protestants beware and adhere to your charter,
Nor for titles or places your liberties barter;
Stand fast to your God, to your King and your Creed, sir,
And then from your enemies you soon shall be freed, sir.*

—C. H., LODGE 599

BY THIS time George Rutledge was an old man. His eldest son, John A., had died in 1878 when only thirty-one, and his youngest, Reverend George Nixon, had just entered the Methodist ministry. Still at home with him, though, were two daughters, Alice and Elizabeth, and a son, William, born in 1850. On William, the ancient Orange mantle of the family had descended with its prophetic warmth unimpaired. He marched proudly with his father in parades, but in 1888, after feasting and speeches were over, when George turned wistfully to the glories of the past, William, in the prime of his manhood, busied his thoughts with the present and the future.

"The big pull for Orangemen", he said to his father, "is still to come. The rebellion and the raids were the sort of thing in which every decent man knew where he ought to stand, but these political affairs are not so easy. I have great faith in Mr. McCulla but I'd not like to stand in his shoes at this time."

W. A. McCulla, one time mayor of Brampton and warden of Peel, elected in 1887 as a supporter of John A. Macdonald, had long been a great favourite in the county. The author—then a young law student—had made his first political speeches while stumping for McCulla with Honourable W. D. McPherson, subsequently Grand Master of the Grand Orange Lodge of British America, M.P.P., and Provincial Secretary for Ontario. William and his father were delighted with McCulla's success over James Fleming, barrister, but the younger man's forecast of trouble was to prove but too well founded. During his parliamentary apprenticeship, McCulla was to encounter perhaps the major political controversy of the period.

The problem of the Jesuit estates dated back to 1775,

when the Jesuit Society had been suppressed in Canada. Upon the death of its last surviving member in 1800, the Crown had taken over its estates. But in 1773, the Pope had dissolved the Society itself, thus automatically, it was claimed, transferring its property to the bishops of Montreal and Quebec. The Society, resuscitated abroad between 1811 and 1814, and readmitted to Canada in 1842, began to press for repossession of the confiscated estates. Archbishop Taschereau entered a counter-claim. Mercier, a former pupil of the Jesuits, secured for them from the Quebec legislature in 1887 an act of incorporation. Next year he set aside \$400,000 as compensation for their confiscated estates, to be paid to whichever beneficiary the Pope might indicate.

Orangemen, who had long struggled vainly for legal recognition, gritted their teeth over the act of incorporation, grew still angrier over the outrageous payment, and rose to boiling-point at the introduction of papal authority into Canada's temporal affairs. Wallace reviewed the Jesuit Estates Bill in a dramatic speech before Grand Lodge in Winnipeg, a month or so after George Rutledge and his son had their long discussion about it. It was, he pointed out, a perilous precedent. Were Orangemen to remain unrecognized while Roman Catholics marched on from victory to victory? Perish the thought! Let all Orangemen unite in defence of their rights and of their country's liberties.

Conservative leaders did not sense, as they should have done, the disgruntled mood of the rank and file at this time. Even in safe-and-sure Cardwell there was unrest, and after the death of the Honourable Thomas White, M.P., there was some difficulty in uniting on a candidate. Robert S. White, son of the late member, was considered, as were also William Stubbs, the popular veterinary surgeon of Caledon, and "fighting Bob" Evans of Bolton. The first convention, held in May, broke up without definite action, and before the second convention, called for September, White received an autograph letter from Sir John Macdonald informing him that the Honourable John Carling and Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, then M.P. for North Simcoe and a former M.P. for Cardwell, had been over the constituency and reported that the breach was too wide for one of the rivals to be

elected. It was therefore intended, wrote Sir John, to nominate an alternative candidate acceptable to all parties. White himself, in a letter to the author, tells the story of the event:

"In the circumstances, I thought it proper to go myself to Cardwell and inform my father's friends that I had no personal aspiration and that whatever action was taken by the convention would be satisfactory to myself. I arrived in the Village of Bolton the day preceding the convention, setting foot in Cardwell for the first time in my life and unacquainted with any elector in it. I had a letter of introduction from Hon. Clarke Wallace to a Mr. McFall, a Flour Miller at Bolton and saw him on my arrival in that village. He advised me to proceed immediately to Relessey and call upon Squire Bob Wilson, the leading Conservative in the Township of Mono. I accordingly hired a horse and buggy and driver, a gentleman named Stewart, and we spent the whole day driving from one end of the constituency to the other, reaching Relessey about seven o'clock in the evening.

"Introducing myself to Squire Wilson, I was most cordially received. He had with him his brother and they had been discussing the convention of the following day. An incident of the evening which was quite new to me was the manner in which the Squire and his brother smoked the same clay pipe, one puffing at it for perhaps ten minutes, then wiping the stem and handing the pipe over to the brother, and so it went throughout the evening—possibly an old Irish custom, in the manner of the Indian 'Pipe of Peace'.

"The Squire was insistent about submitting my name to the convention and I have always thought that only by a lucky chance did I succeed in securing the nomination. Mr. D'Alton McCarthy had selected as a candidate the late George Tate Blackstock, K.C., a prominent Toronto lawyer and an ardent Conservative, and Mr. McCarthy was to have presented him to the convention, but it so happened that the latter missed the train and Mr. Blackstock arrived at Mono Mills, where the meeting was held, without his sponsor, and unknown in the constituency save by name.

"The nominees were the late Senator Willoughby, Mr. Blackstock and myself, but before the ballot was taken, Mr. Blackstock, sensing the feeling of the meeting, withdrew his name and upon the ballot being taken, I was found to have a substantial majority. Throughout the ensuing campaign, Mr. Willoughby travelled the constituency with me and spoke on my behalf at every meeting."

If this by-election may be regarded as a straw to indicate the direction and speed of the political wind, it had evidently not yet become really stormy.

Conservative headquarters, according to Fred Williams in the *Mail and Empire*, then descended *en masse* upon the constituency. On nomination day a distinguished party

arrived, including Sir John Thompson, then Minister of Justice. They were met by Bob White, Clarke Wallace, and a delegation, headed by the Caledon East brass band, which played a rollicking college air, and the parade started off for Mono Mills.

Among those present, as listed by Williams, were John Herbert Beatty of Toronto; the "organizing peacemaker," Bob Birmingham, son-in-law of Andrew Fleming and father of that prominent Orangeman, the author's friend, Hillyard Birmingham; W. H. Hammell, then local member; Dr. Henry, ex-mayor of Orangeville; William McCulla, M.P. for Peel; Sheriff Broddy of Brampton; "Fighting Bob" Evans; Lieutenant-Colonel Tyrwhitt, Officer Commanding the 36th Peel Battalion; E. J. Hearn, "Tottenham's blond young lawyer", a native of Mayfield, educated at Brampton, later created K.C., and subsequently senior judge of Waterloo county; Colonel O'Brien, "Mono's champion"; and "Went Willoughby, the coming local man".

The visitors lunched in the Duggan House while the electors milled about outside. Suddenly there was an uproar. Bob Evans had appealed to Bill Stubbs to withdraw from the contest, and Bill had refused. "Somebody called somebody a liar; 'something struck Mr. Stubbs on the neck and knocked him backward; something wound around his neck, and put his head in chancery'; 'dull, sickening thuds' on his physiognomy waked the echoing hills". Spectators rescued Stubbs, with head "bloody but unbowed", and took him to a doctor's office.

At the nominations White found himself,

"Pitted against an opponent, who, in a back sitting-room, was resting with one eye covered with a piece of raw beef and a lump on the side of his head that spoiled the set of his hat, and who was unable to take part in the speaking which followed the nomination. Clarke Wallace urged the election of Bob White; Thomas Swinterton [sic], of Bolton, reeve, of Albion, protested against an outsider coming to Cardwell; Bob White asked for support for 'the grand old party and the grand old flag' . . . Colonel Tyrwhitt urged party unity; Went Willoughby said White would win . . . Elgin Myers, of Orangeville, although an avowed Grit, supported Stubbs; and Sir John Thompson appealed for support of the Conservative policy of building up a greater and a united Canada.

"The crowd was moving away when Stubbs came on to the balcony. A big white bandage over his right eye partly hid his wounds, but the

patches of blood that still smeared his face and dyed his shirt collar gave him a war-scarred appearance. His first words were, 'I'm badly disfigured, but still in the ring,' and he then threw from the balcony a number of his printed addresses. The meeting was over."

A few weeks afterwards Bob White was elected by a majority of 139. The storm had passed for the moment.

"Perhaps the Orange Order is not so badly off after all," temporized George Rutledge, discussing the political situation with the desire of age for peace at almost any price. "The Mutual Benefit Society is getting provincial recognition, and they say that the Dominion government is agreeable to passing a Friendly Societies Act. That would be an opening wedge and probably we'd soon get incorporation without any more trouble."

"That's not the point," returned his son. "We've been apathetic too long, and the Romanists have stolen many a march on us. Now we must buckle down to it, and show them that we mean business too."

William Rutledge was right. Wallace's stirring appeal was just the spur needed by the rank and file of the Order. At Grand Lodge in Goderich in 1889, he excelled his effort of the previous year. For the first time, Canadian Orangemen became the solid phalanx Nassau Gowan had advocated in 1862. Lodges everywhere plunged into a fever of activity, and letters and telegrams flew to and fro.

Among the strong men in Peel Orange lodges at this period were: Thomas McCracken, district master of Derry West, 1890-92, son of another Streetsville Orangeman, Jacob McCracken who emigrated from County Antrim in 1818 and came with the Steens to Peel county; Robert W. Erskine of Caledon West, son of James Erskine and district master of Caledon, 1891-2; Robert Stewart of Inglewood, district master of Derry West in the early nineties, a native of County Leitrim; James N. Elliott of Streetsville, district master of Derry West, 1895-6, and later county master, a son of Letitia Graham and of Nathaniel Elliott, J.P., U.E.L., and Orangeman, described by his descendants as a strikingly handsome and finely cultured gentleman; John Johnston (or Johnson), master of L.O.L. No. 696, and district master of Albion, 1894-6; Joseph Barton (or Burton) of Churchville, district master of Derry West in the late nineties, member of

L.O.L. No. 290, township councillor, reeve, and director of the township loan association; James Snell, stock breeder of the Mono Mills neighbourhood and district master of Caledon township; Robert McCutcheon, district master of Caledon about the turn of the century.

Meanwhile, in the Dominion house Wallace's friend and fellow Orangeman, Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien moved an amendment that the House should request the Governor General to disallow the action of the Quebec legislature. He was supported by only twelve members, including Wallace and Tyrwhitt, but the number proved unlucky indeed for their opponents. "The noble thirteen" were everywhere fêted and toasted, and Orange Conservatives who had failed to support them stirred up hornets' nests in their constituencies.

Among the unfortunate victims of this political holocaust was McCulla, the Peel member, who had entered parliament under such bright auspices a few years before. Everywhere throughout his constituency his fellow Orangemen were passing eulogiums on the conduct of "the noble thirteen". McCulla's exercise of his own judgement incurred the strongest possible censure. One of these outbursts of indignation follows:

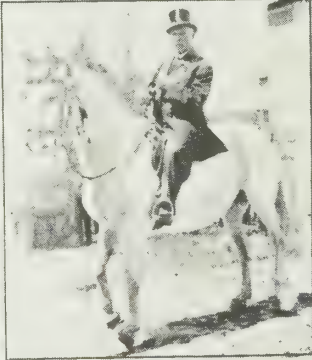
"To Bro. McCulla, explaining that we 'view the altar', and emphatically condemn the action of the Dominion Government in not disallowing the Jesuit Estates Act . . . not raising your voice against it, but voting for the same, and placing party before country to the detriment of the Protestant religion and the equal rights and liberties which you as a member of the Orange Order are sworn to support . . . Too many members of the society use the Association merely as a stepping-stone to influence and position, thereby traducing the sacred principles of the order . . . use your best endeavours to have the same brought before the Privy Council on its merits . . . we pledge ourselves in future to support only those . . . etc., etc. . . ."

George Rutledge was not well enough to attend the big mass meeting held in Brampton on 10th June to discuss the question of disallowance, but William told him all about it. The hall was jammed; George Graham made a fitting chairman. McCulla spoke in his own defence and his defeated rival, James Fleming, a former M.P., supported him. Reverend William Herridge, Primitive Methodist clergyman and grandfather of Major William Herridge, Canadian Minister to the United States, was another peace-maker.



Courtesy L. Williams

FIRST ORANGE ARCH, CALGARY



Courtesy Frank Charters & Mrs. M. L. Mahaffy

MORE COUNTY MASTERS

Above: Robert Shaw, Henry Burnett, Judge J. J. Mahaffy; below: H. H. Matson, Thos. A. Nixon with his wife Hannab, Wm. Harris.



Courtesy Mrs. Geo. Wilson

12TH JULY PARADE, BOLTON, 1911



Courtesy Mrs. W. J. Darby & Robt. Shaw

L.O.B.A. MEMBERS

Mrs. Margaret (Fallis) Broddy, Mrs. W. J. Galbraith, Mrs. N. Clarke Wallace, Princess Mary L.O.B.A. No. 459 (1924) including, back row: Mrs. S. Cook, Mrs. Thompson, Edna Keer, Mrs. R. Morrison; middle row: Mrs. J. Parr Mrs. J. Carey, Mrs. J. Little, Mrs. Thos. Holtby, Miss A. Eckland, Ruby Dick, Mrs. Roy Fleming; front row: Mrs. W. Craig, Mrs. W. Norris, Mrs. W. Neely, Mrs. M. Ingram, Mrs. S. Carberry, Mrs. G. Elliot.

But the Reverend J. Philp, Wesleyan Methodist, made "the speech of the evening", piercing every defence that had been offered, and bringing the audience to its feet in a storm of enthusiastic protest. William could not quote in detail the resolutions which had finally been passed, but A. F. Campbell had been one of the moving spirits at the meeting, so they could all, he assured his father, be read in the next *Conservator*.

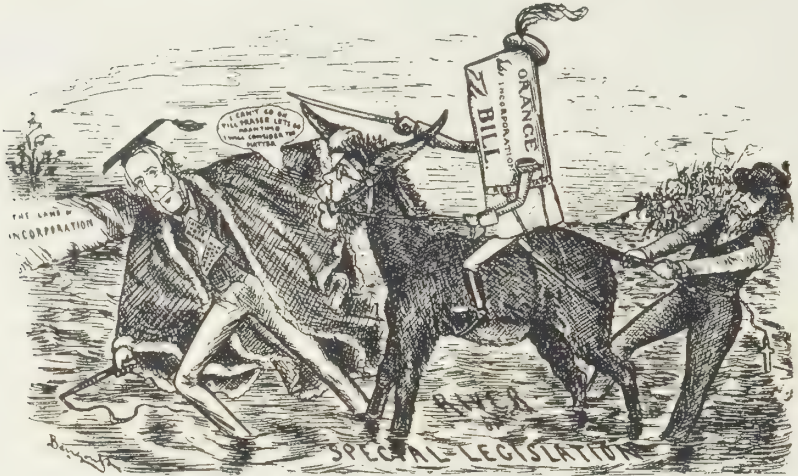
This was the day of the Equal Rights Association. It was founded by leading Orangemen such as Clarke Wallace and D'Alton McCarthy who had made his parliamentary *début* as member for Cardwell in the 1876 by-election when he defeated Lambert Bolton. These brilliant tacticians gathered into the fold many Protestants who were not Orangemen and even some who had been hostile to the Order. Methodists such as Philp felt that they must find some bulwark against the rising tide of Roman Catholicism, and where else could they turn for aid?

A bitter campaign for incorporation followed, but the Orangemen had shown their power. They had proven to members of the House that when they were sufficiently roused they could become just as dangerous as the Roman Catholics. The parliamentary term was wearing on, and prospects of the next election loomed large. Perhaps it was not well to tax the patience of the Orangemen too far. Thus when Grand Lodge met at St. John in August, 1890, the Grand Master was able to announce, amid scenes of unparalleled enthusiasm, that the Orange Incorporation Bill had received royal assent.

The 31st meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ontario West, in 1890, was held at Brampton and Clarke Wallace was present. He explained the sledge-hammer methods by which he had secured the Act of Incorporation. McCulla's address at this meeting had a lukewarm reception. Orangemen could not accept his position on separate schools, although they really liked and admired him as a congenial friend.

"The noble thirteen" were now ready for fresh campaigns. D'Alton McCarthy tried in vain to have the use of French prohibited in official proceedings in the North West Territories. He urged the people of Manitoba "to make this a British country in fact and in name", thereby, it seems,

inspiring Joseph Martin to abolish religious teaching, or, at least, denominational teaching, in the schools. The Roman Catholics tried for a federal veto and failed. Then they tried the Manitoba legislation in the Courts, carrying it to the



J. W. BENGOUGH

ORANGE INCORPORATION BILL CROSSING THE POLITICAL BOYNE

George Brown, Catholic vote securely pocketed and Orange vote wanted, has donned Orange regalia, cracks the Globe whip and pulls forward a donkey with Mowat's face which, however, cannot go forward until Fraser, an able Roman Catholic cabinet minister, lets go behind.

Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Again without success. Next they petitioned the federal government for remedial legislation. Ministers evaded the issue by ordering argument of a stated case before the Supreme Court. That decision was once more appealed. During all this time McCarthy's own party was under constant fire from both sides.

Wallace, now at the height of his Orange fame, was, in 1891, elected president of the Imperial Grand Orange Council of the World. This exalted position he enjoyed the unique distinction of occupying for two successive terms. He also retained his parliamentary seat in the 1891 general election.

Cardwell's attitude in 1891 was a warning of even stormier weather ahead. Orange Conservatives had decided that the party machine was creaking and they had no further use for it. White describes the campaign in detail.

"Cardwell was then, and for aught I know to the contrary still is, strictly Orange and the Lodges of that Order had passed resolutions condemning me for my vote [on the Jesuit Estates Bill]. Indeed, so strong

was the feeling that I was refused the use of any Orange Hall in the constituency for a political meeting and holding a meeting in the hotel at Hockley during the election of 1891, the place was stoned and we were compelled to stop the proceedings and abruptly terminate the meeting.

"It was during the summer of 1890 that I arranged a series of meetings in the constituency to explain my course on the 'Jesuit Estates' matter. The first meeting was held at Palgrave, Albion Township, in a hall over an open shed adjoining the church, where farmers were accustomed to put their horses and buggies when attending a service. The meeting had not continued long when a terrific explosion occurred that shook the building and caused great consternation. Investigation showed that a keg of gunpowder had been exploded in the shed and, but for the fact that it was an open one, the consequences might have been serious to many in the audience. Needless to say, this meeting also came to an abrupt termination. I drove during the evening with my old friend, Squire John Wallace, to his home at Castlederg and the following morning found myself ill with a bad throat, so much so that I was compelled to return to Orangeville where I was confined to bed for some two weeks with a nearly fatal attack of diphtheria.

"My connection with Cardwell made many warm friends, among others, Squire Wilson, Squire Wallace, Dr. Fred Lewis of Orangeville, Mr. W. L. Walsh, who subsequently removed to Calgary, became Chief Justice and is now Lieutenant Governor of Alberta, a career of distinction his integrity and ability has thoroughly merited. There were many others such as the Barbers of Alton, James Barber as fine a character as ever walked God's green footstool, and his brother, Sam, the Algies of Alton, of whom I remember more distinctly William Algie and his brother, Dr. Algie. William Algie was an ardent supporter of my father and of myself in the election of 1888 but he became a supporter of 'unrestricted reciprocity' and my recollection is that he supported Mr. Myers, the Liberal candidate in 1891. He was an earnest, studious, sincere man and all the family had more than average ability.

"My driver through both elections and through all my father's elections was John Witter, Hotel-keeper of Orangeville, who drove a spanking team of horses and was one of the best whips in the county. He was a genial Irishman, everybody's friend, a most jovial companion and of great help to me through his wide acquaintance and intimate knowledge of the electors.

"Probably none, no not one of my associates in the campaign of 45 years ago still survives other than Mr. Walsh, and my nearest touch with Cardwell is through Harry Barber, son of the late James Barber, who has represented Fraser Valley, B.C., in the House of Commons, since 1925, his popularity being attested by the large majorities given him during the last four general elections."

McCulla's loss of the Orange vote in 1891 cost him his seat, and the Conservative majority in the House was greatly diminished. Not long after the election, Sir John A. Mac-

donald died, and in his memory the Grand Lodge of British America gave \$100 to the Toronto Protestant Orphans' Home. Peel Conservatives, and particularly Peel Orangemen, felt a sense of personal loss. Several went to Ottawa for the funeral, among them W. A. McCulla, his future son-in-law W. F. Scott, A. F. Campbell, and Sheriff Robert Broddy, a member of the old No. 5 lodge and George Rutledge's cousin by marriage.

The times were exhausting and further Conservative casualties soon followed. Sir John Abbott tried to fill Macdonald's place, but in 1892 resigned his difficult task to Sir John Thompson. Two prominent Orangemen—Wallace and Mackenzie Bowell—were members of the new ministry. There was some criticism of them for accepting office, but Wallace took the bull by the horns and declared bluntly:

"Sir John Thompson is the Premier of Canada today, and some people have objected to him, not on account of his lack of ability, for he is one of the ablest men in Canada, not because of his want of devotion to the interests of his country, but, and I will put it plainly, because he is a Roman Catholic. I do not consider that an objection to a man's becoming Premier of Canada."

A month before the Privy Council gave its final decision in the Manitoba Schools' case, Thompson, visiting England, dropped dead at Windsor Castle, and Bowell succeeded him.

It is doubtful whether Bowell was the man for a crisis. He had become Prime Minister, as he had become Grand Master of the Orange Order—after many years of faithful service in routine duties. He rarely missed an opportunity to pat a man on the back for a good act, and there was a definite kindliness that went beyond mere careful formality, in the endless series of resolutions of approbation and congratulation which he sponsored. He was extremely skilful in oiling the wheels of procedure and effecting conciliations between clashing groups and opinions so long as no great strength nor ingenuity was required. If his course was never original, it was sound according to accepted standards. He had little mental agility, however, and his speeches show a rather jumbled mind with little power of analytical decision. The factions in the Conservative party were to prove beyond his strength to conciliate.

The political turmoil of these years served to encourage

rather than retard Orange growth. A useful step was taken in the early nineties. New emphasis was placed on uniformity of signs, passwords, and lectures. Robert Birmingham, the real founder of Orange insurance and then Grand Secretary of British America and of the Imperial Orange Council of the World, seems to have been influential in starting this movement in Peel, and local minute-books show that advices from him stimulated not only the purchase of new rituals and constitutions, but also the holding of lecture schools. One lodge met for this purpose every Wednesday evening for two months.

Membership rolls of Bolton L.O.L. No. 146 are typical of those in Albion and Caledon townships at least, and probably in the southern part of the county also. This lodge had, between 1857 and 1861, a membership running from 50 to 64. In 1862 it failed abruptly, perhaps as a result of dissension over the general election of 1861. From then until 1890 it never rose above 37, and in 1874 it had dropped to 20. In 1891 it mounted at one leap to 40; in 1892 it was 46, and in 1894 it was 62.

Other lodge records show parallel development, especially in the renaissance of the early nineties. The meteoric rise of the Ballycroy lodge described in Chapter XVII is a case in point. So is the stricter discipline exercised by old lodges and exemplified by a comment of the worshipful master of L.O.L. No. 260 following the reinstatement of a member on 30th June, 1891:

"He hoped that it would be the last case of this kind [they] would have to contend with in this Lodge as there is no use in trying to run a lodge and letting the members absent themselves for so great a length of time."

The suggestion is, surely, that Orangemen are at their best when they have something to fight for. Those were stirring years, when Orangeism was a vital factor in the country's government.

While Orangeism thus dominated the political stage, and scarcely a year before that veteran Orange leader, Mackenzie Bowell, had assumed the mantle of leadership—which to him as to his immediate predecessors was to prove the shirt of Nessus—George Rutledge of Toronto township had quietly passed to his rest. The Order was in his thoughts

to the end, and he was not reluctant to follow where his great leader, Ogle R. Gowan, the father, founder and first Canadian grand master of the Orange Order, and his old friend and political luminary, John Hillyard Cameron, had already led the way.

He left a country and a county full of political unrest. The Privy Council's final decision in the Manitoba school question suggested that the rights of the Roman Catholic minority should be safe-guarded. It also declared that the Dominion government had power, if required, to pass a remedial bill. Efforts to induce the Manitoba government to provide the requisite legislation failed. Instead that government, backed by the Liberal leader, Wilfrid Laurier, requested an investigation. This was refused. By December, 1895, it had become clear that Bowell's cabinet would have to bring in a remedial bill, and that it would split the Conservative party.

Meanwhile D'Alton McCarthy had gathered his forces and was awaiting his chance. It came when the Conservatives were jockeyed into appointing Robert White controller of customs in Montreal, rendering his seat vacant and ultimately necessitating a by-election in Cardwell. This was regarded by everyone as a sort of straw to show the direction of the wind. Early in the summer McCarthy sent J. M. Godfrey into the constituency to try its temper, and eventually, after some qualms, decided to support Stubbs as the strongest independent candidate available. McCarthy raised a small campaign fund of \$1,500, \$1,000 of which was contributed by Goldwin Smith, and met the unlimited lavishness of his former party with the eminently practical slogan, "Take their money but vote for Stubbs". It is stated that a good deal of the money which was "taken" with such ingenuous simplicity eventually found its way into the Stubbs campaign fund.

Early in the course of this campaign the Orangeville *Banner* sang of Cardwell's darling:

"At Bannockburn and Derry Walls,
The Boyne and Waterloo,
Your fathers met the tyrants,
And we trust that so will you.
The foot of the oppressor
Is laid upon your neck,

They do not wish the conflict
But they must obey Quebec.

"Send Montague and Foster,
Quick to the right about,
And, as for that young Willoughby,
Be sure to shut him out.
For why should an outsider
Come seeking for your votes?
The noble men of Cardwell
Are not a set of goats.

"To you and to McCarthy
Manitoba looks for aid!
They hope that down in Cardwell
The clergy's rule is stayed.
Give up, give up, old parties,
No matter how it rubs.
Come boldly on the twenty-fourth
And mark for William Stubbs."

Memories of a long line of "outside" candidates such as the Whites of Montreal rankled in Cardwell breasts and helped defeat "young Willoughby". Somewhat unjustly, too, thought the author, then a law student in Willoughby's Toronto office, having in mind the old county family from which Willoughby came, with its fine record of service—military, municipal, and fraternal.

Seven cabinet ministers and fifteen Conservative M.P.'s took part in the campaign. Nomination day at Mono Mills brought an immense crowd to the little village. There were "big times in the barn" as the *Toronto Telegram* called the old drill-hall, whither the meeting adjourned when St. John's Church of England hall would not accommodate the crowds. Intense excitement reigned. McCarthy and Lieutenant-Colonel William Edward O'Brien, who had commanded the York and Simcoe Regiment during the North-West Rebellion, spoke for Stubbs, the Honourable George Foster for Willoughby, the "regular" Conservative candidate, and Frank Denton for Henry, whose nomination is said to have been arranged by two astute Grit politicians, Peter Ryan and Peter Small, so that the Roman Catholics would have someone else but Willoughby for whom to vote. Christmas eve came at last, and both parties put all their energy into getting out the voters. The final returns showed

Stubbs elected with a majority of 303, one of the largest ever polled in the constituency. Mrs. J. R. Wallace, daughter of William Stubbs, born at this lucky moment, received the odd but significant baptismal name of Cardwell.

Willoughby who, in 1891, had become a member of the Albion Royal Scarlet Chapter, later moved to Moose Jaw, was elected to the Saskatchewan legislature, 1912-17, and succeeded Sir Frederick Haultain as leader of the Conservative party there. On 23rd October, 1917, he was appointed to the senate of which he became Conservative leader in 1929. He resigned in 1932 because of ill health.

Irish members must have enjoyed the repercussions of 1895. Not long after the by-election the "nest of traitors" incident occurred when Wallace resigned as Minister of Customs on the grounds of principle, and half the rest of the Bowell cabinet followed a few days later on the grounds of expediency. As a result, Mackenzie Bowell resigned and Sir Charles Tupper, Canadian High Commissioner, was brought back from England to lead the Conservative party and force the required legislation through the House.

Divisions on the Remedial Bill presented an amazing spectacle. D'Alton McCarthy, Clarke Wallace, who had resigned from the cabinet, Doctor T. S. Sproule, to be president of the Imperial Grand Orange Council in 1906, and more than a dozen other Protestant Conservatives, marched arm in arm with a French Roman Catholic Liberal leader to defeat their own government. Cabinet ministers entered the House with harassed faces, and the more astute Conservative leaders outside the House viewed the situation with unconcealed alarm.

McCarthy and Wallace, realizing that in less than a month the government would be obliged to go to the people, determined to filibuster the bill over the five-year limit. The debate was notable less for its brilliance than for the endurance records it set. On one occasion Tupper kept the House in session for one hundred consecutive hours. The McCarthy group proved equal to this emergency. Dr. Sproule read the entire Nova Scotia school law. Another member gave the House all the Bible passages authorized for use in Ontario schools. Still another read a history of Canada and a large proportion of the works of Mark Twain.

Stubbs, although a new member, did his bit. In the course of his lengthy remarks he said,

"This Committee is still considering the motion I moved 13 or 14 hours ago that the Committee rise and report progress. I submitted that motion honestly, believing that Hon. members were not capable of discussing the clauses of the Bill and that they needed sleep and refreshment. This being a very important Bill, it should be discussed with the full intelligence of the House present and it is not reasonable that a Bill of such gigantic importance should be 'railroaded' through the Committee when the legal members are compelled to be absent I am sorry to say that the hon. gentleman in charge of the Bill absolutely refuses to give the necessary information when asked by the hon. members. It is not reasonable that a new member like myself should be able to give an intelligent vote on Provisions of the Bill which I do not understand. My constituents will ask questions and explanations of the various clauses of the Bill; but I am not capable of giving them. I have failed to get the various clauses explained. When I was elected to represent Cardwell I thought I was coming to the Dominion Parliament to associate with hon. members who would elevate me intellectually, but I am sorry to have to acknowledge the object of my life has failed to materialize. I am associated with hon. gentlemen from some of whom I expected something better, and the people will resent what I call an insult to the hon. member for Cardwell I am opposed to this Bill in its present form."

Joseph Featherston, Liberal member for Peel, also spoke on the question, for the Liberal opposition was at one with the McCarthyites in the desire to thwart the government. Featherston invited the committee to rise and the House to adjourn because he had some important matters to bring before them with regard to Canadian export trade. With this as a point of departure he launched forth a prolonged discussion as to the spread of glanders among horses in Liverpool and the danger of having sheep scheduled, all of which delayed proceedings and delayed and delayed them again.

In the face of such obstructionist tactics Tupper finally had to admit that he could not get the bill through within the time limit. The session came to an end with the Manitoba school question still in the committee stage.

The election was fought on this issue. The good Conservative Orangemen of the McCarthy League found it repugnant to throw their lot in with the Liberals, yet they could not abide separate schools. Their independent action shattered their party. Conservative Orangemen of Cardwell were again lost between the devil and the deep sea, and another brilliant native son, the Honourable William L.

Walsh, a brother-in-law of David Lynch Scott, formerly of Brampton, went down to defeat before Stubbs, the McCarthy candidate.

The sacrifice of the Orange Conservatives was not unavailing. Roman Catholic French-Canadians, less loyal to their convictions, could not resist the temptation to vote for a leader of their own race, at whatever cost to their co-religionists of Manitoba. Ultramontane bishops in Quebec commanded the faithful to vote only for candidates pledged to support the Remedial Bill. In Quebec city it was announced that failure to obey the command would be a mortal sin. All the same, Quebec province returned 49 Liberals and only 16 Conservatives. Orangemen were victorious at last on the St. Lawrence. It was a triumph hardly less important, perhaps, in Canada's history, than that of the Boyne in the history of the old land. McCarthy was offered the post of Minister of Justice in the Laurier cabinet, and a possible settlement of the Manitoba school question was finally reached by negotiation.

Since that date the Orange Order has consistently and with dogged pertinacity advocated a non-denominational school system. It continues the campaign today. Success still seems very far off, but during its long and glorious career, the Order has turned many a hopeless-appearing struggle into a brilliant victory.



CHAPTER XV

AN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

*On let the Orange flag be driven
Triumphant by the winds of heaven,
Till east and west, till north and south behold
Our Orange, purple, scarlet, blue and gold!*

—WILLIAM SHANNON

CHANGE and bustle attended the turn of the century. The lusty Victorian age, with its sharp distinctions, its uncompromising determination, and its vigorous optimism, was ended. The Boers had been properly trounced for the severe injuries they inflicted upon the British serene sense of superiority, but the wounds were not yet entirely healed. The death of the Queen was an even more telling blow, and seemed to mark the end of an epoch. Outwardly things went on much as before, notwithstanding the new uncertainty. It was not the "honest doubt" of objective facts, in which Tennyson found "more faith" than in "all our creeds", but a nerve-racking, subjective suspicion of personal and national inadequacy.

A somewhat similar change came over the Orange Order with the passing of N. Clarke Wallace, the political champion who had shepherded it through the tempests of the nineties. The twentieth century would see its numbers expand and its wealth increase, but still some doubting Thomases would question whether or not the fighting spirit of Clarke Wallace and his brethren was preserved intact. Was there not a danger in the very tolerance and international emphasis in which the century's first two decades took such pride? Events will show.

Orangemen started the century briskly enough. In 1901 on the motion of W. N. Riddell and W. Stewart, Cedar Mills L.O.L. No. 148 protested "against any modifications being made in the coronation oath". Soon afterwards Peel Orangemen were active in the formation of the Peel Old Boys' Association in Toronto. Alexander McConnell, one of the founders, was the son of Nevin, an old member of L.O.L. No. 157 and master in 1856, when land was secured for the first hall. The first president of the Peel Old

Boys, James H. McGhie, was an Orangeman too. He was also K.C., alderman, and solicitor to the Ontario Railway Board. Most of the subsequent presidents have been Orangemen, beginning with Sir William Gage, who was succeeded in turn by J. W. L. Forster, the distinguished artist, James W. McLaughlin, and Henry F. Gooderham, K.C.; the author, first elected to succeed Forster, was re-elected in 1931.

Peel's strength in the House of Commons was halved when the federal riding of Cardwell was abolished as a result of the redistribution of 1903. The last member was Robert Johnston, of L.O.L. No. 250, long president of the Cardwell Liberal-Conservative Association and warden of Peel in the year of his election to the House of Commons. Later he became registrar of the county. The provincial riding of Cardwell was not abolished until 1908.

Wallace's successor, the Honourable Thomas Simpson Sproule, farmer, physician, and politician, sat in the House of Commons continuously for thirty-seven years as member for East Grey. In 1911 he was made speaker, and in 1915 he was appointed to the Senate. A great reader and gifted orator, Sproule knew the history of Canada and of the Conservative party. He frequently quoted statistics, for which he had a remarkable memory. He always had something to say, the chief criticism levelled against him being that he said it at too great length. In 1906 he was elected president of the Imperial Grand Orange Council of the World. A militant Christian and a great Orangeman, he died in 1917, having spent his life largely in a vain effort to bring together all Protestant fraternal societies into one grand organization.

Thrice during Sproule's Grand Mastership, Lancaster, describing the senate as "an expensive anomaly", proposed its abolition. In the Commons, Sproule, although admitting the desirability of senate reform, spoke against the measure in both 1909 and 1910. Orangemen in general, following his lead, opposed abolition. In 1910 the measure was defeated by 111 to 22 votes. Richard Blain voted with the majority, and was warmly congratulated by the Streetsville lodge and other Orangemen throughout Peel.

In 1902, under Sproule, the North West Territories were split up for Orange purposes. Eastern and western

Grand Lodges were formed, in Saskatchewan and in Alberta respectively. In this reorganization a former Peel Orangeman, E. H. Crandell of Calgary, did his bit. Of Scottish and English United Empire Loyalist stock, Crandell had been twice mayor of Brampton. He was also a local preacher in Grace Methodist church. Almost immediately upon moving west in January, 1900, he became Deputy Grand Master of the western division of the North West Territories, and thereafter served four times as Grand Master. He sat on the Calgary school board and in the city council, and was president of the Calgary and South Alberta Conservative Association.

When George H. Locke, Chief Librarian of Toronto, James Jeffers Mahaffy, and the author, among others, were being taught by Jeff's brother-in-law, Thomas J. Blain, to read in the original Julius Caesar's history of Britain, Blain was also studying for his own law examinations. The day came when he had passed all, resigned from the high school staff and opened a law office in Brampton. The author was one of four pupils appointed to collect subscriptions from the pupils, buy a gift, and arrange for its formal presentation. After active, persistent canvass of the other three masters and the upwards of an hundred and fifty pupils, \$7.75 was raised. The choice hovered between a scarf-pin and an easy chair.

The head master was appealed to and advised the committee to ask Blain how he would like the money spent. He enthusiastically said, "Get me a Worcester's dictionary, unabridged." The committee gradually fell into line. The book store price was \$14.00, but Mrs. Warne was in sympathy with the objective and threw off \$2.00. A second canvass of teachers and scholars raised a further 89¢, making a grand total of \$8.64. Mrs. Warne, seen again, cut off another dollar, and put the book right down to actual cost—\$11.00, but there was still a shortage of \$2.36. One or two of the school trustees and some citizens were approached, but they "hesitated to create so dangerous a precedent". As a last resort, the Latin master himself was seen, and the \$2.36 obtained.

The presentation, a gala affair, took place before noon hour one Friday—songs, speeches, and a half-holiday. Blain

and his better half asked the committee to dinner. All four went. Sausages and beefsteak. The author sat on his host's right, but serving started at the left. It was in the days of good old fresh pork sausages with aromatic seasoning—the kind one could smell frying and with impatience wait for serving.

"Sausage, please," number one said. So also said number two. Number three followed suit. To start with there was a sausage apiece all round, but now only two of the half dozen were left, but there was lots of lovely steak. So George Locke got only one sausage, and the steak was cut into to supplement his portion. Then came the author's turn. He said, "Sausage" quickly, for fear the hostess would get the only one left. But there were plenty of doughnuts to give the committee two or three apiece, and leave some over.

That evening the author told his father of his narrow escape and was surprised to learn that a young man, if asked, should first glance round quickly, then always "prefer" whatever the carver seemed to have most of.

Later the author was articled to Blain, who became prominent in legal, political, and Orange circles. He was county master in 1903. The lure of the West—the pioneering spirit—however, got him. He moved to Melville, Saskatchewan, in 1912, where he resumed the practice of his profession, and later was appointed District Court Judge at Regina.

Mahaffy, another member of the famous committee of four, and another good Orangeman, also followed the sun. He became city solicitor of Medicine Hat, whither he removed in 1907, and in 1916 was appointed judge of the Red Deer district.

At home in Peel, William Rutledge with unflagging zeal watched this westward progress of the Association so dear to his ancestors, and in which he was still a modest but faithful worker. In his quiet way he too was contributing his mite to its local prestige. For five-and-twenty years he was a director of the County of Peel Agricultural Society and for two years president. In 1906 he entered municipal life. Such were his record and popularity that he was thrice elected by acclamation to the Toronto township council. In 1910 he became deputy reeve, an office he held for three years. Then

he was elected reeve and appointed warden without opposition. As reeve for a second term, he was again unanimously offered the warden's chair. In 1915 the township council presented him with a silver tea-service.

In the first decade of the twentieth century the Newfoundland Orange membership increased rapidly. In 1905 it numbered over 10,000. A lodge was founded in Labrador. In 1911, the year of Dr. Sproule's resignation, the young Newfoundland lodge supplied the Grand Lodge of British America with a Deputy Grand Master, Richard A. Squires, later Sir Richard and premier of the colony.

While the grandson of Orangeman Rutledge was enjoying his well deserved triumphs, the late Judge James Henderson Scott, a former Grand Master of Ontario West, succeeded Sproule as Grand Master of British America. Scott held office for three years after his election in 1911, and in 1914 was president of the Imperial Grand Orange Council. He was an officer in the 32nd Bruce Regiment, and became lieutenant colonel when very young. In the Presbyterian Church and the Navy League, he was also prominent. His two hopeless political campaigns in the Liberal constituency of West Bruce, where a Conservative victory was deemed impossible, brought him as much credit as victories would have elsewhere.

Scott's balanced judgement and practical experience brought many to him for advice, particularly regarding the constitution of the Order, upon which he was considered an authority. His efforts enlarged the brotherhood, and, according to *The Royal Archer*, he travelled the provinces more actively than had his predecessors, retiring only when appointed county judge of Lanark.

The year of Scott's election brought notable proof that Orangemen were still alive to the plea of the helpless and still on fire for freedom and justice. This was the famous Tremblay-Despatie case. Tremblay applied to his diocesan Roman Catholic bishop for annulment of his marriage, alleging that he and his wife were cousins in the fourth degree. Annulment was granted first by the church authorities, and thereafter by the Superior Court of Quebec. The forsaken wife appealed to the Court of Review; her case was sent back to the Superior Court, which upheld its first decision.

Special leave was granted in 1913 for Mrs. Tremblay (or Miss Despatie) to take her case to the Privy Council, but her small resources were too soon exhausted. The Grand Lodge of British America came to the rescue, contributing \$1,500 to help carry the case before the Privy Council. Scorning the suggestion that the costs be refunded and no judgement rendered, the Grand Master continued the legal battle and finally secured a striking triumph. Lord Case, "who has been cursed ever since", declared Mrs. Tremblay's marriage valid, and thus destroyed at one stroke any hypothetical power of Quebec civil courts to annul, on ecclesiastical grounds, a marriage valid according to the province's civil law. The total cost of this case to the Orange Order approached \$15,000, but it had been well worth while.

Although the Tremblay-Despatie case would suggest that the old fighting spirit of the Order was unchanged, a closer examination of methods and attitudes proves that this is not strictly true. The battle was a purely legal one and marked by no such acrimony as had discredited both parties in many a previous dispute. Indeed, an Orange orator recently declared that the Roman Catholic Church had no better friend than the Orange Order. In commenting on this statement Monsignor J. P. Treacy, D.D., for years parish priest at Dixie and now pastor of St. Cecilia's Roman Catholic church, Toronto, was equally affable. Stiff competition, he suggested, tries and tempers a man's religious, moral, political, and social character. If there was not such a thing as an Orange Order, continued Monsignor Treacy, the Roman Catholics might have had to establish one for their own self-discipline.

The *Mail and Empire* in 1932 carried an article by H. C. Hocken, editor of the *Orange Sentinel*, 1905-1930, which fittingly sums up the changed spirit.

"In Canada at least the relations between Roman Catholics and Orangemen have been softened by the lapse of time. A spirit of tolerance has been growing for fifty years and taken the place of the acrimony that at one time existed. The ritual of the order teaches tolerance. Roman Catholics know that in their religious life they have nothing to fear from Orangemen. Whatever controversies arise have to do with civil contentions. On such questions both have the right to stand firmly for their own opinions and within the bounds of courteous discussion to strive for the adoption of their several views."



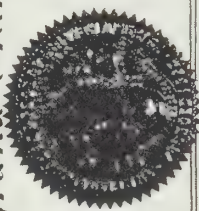
David Teatt. Esq

Loyal Orange Association



Honorary Membership Certificate

This is to Certify that William Perkins Bull, K.C.
has been elected an Honorary Deputy Grand Master of the
Grand Orange Lodge of British America



In Testimony Whereof we have hereunto set our hands and affixed our seal
this Fourth day of June in the year of
Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Thirty

John G. Eaton
Wm. H. Cook

An amusing proof of the distance the Order has travelled since its formal inauguration a century and a half ago, is afforded by a memorial window in Christ church, Brampton, concerning which Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. McCausland writes as follows:

"It . . . represents a subject which I have never before seen in any but a Roman Catholic Church, namely, 'The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin'. In conversation with a local resident some years ago, I was informed that the donor of this window and his family were ardent Orangemen. It would appear that this window was either erected in ignorance or as a practical joke, though I have never been able to find out."

If the Orangemen of the twentieth century thus seemed more temperate than their forbears in religion and politics, however, events were soon to show that the flame of their loyalty burns no less brightly than of yore. Doctor Daniel David Ellis, Scott's successor as Grand Master, ruled in troublous years. Like so many Orange leaders, he had military experience, having been connected with the 28th Militia Regiment in 1892-3, but upon him, as upon most Canadians, the tornado of 1914 burst with terrific suddenness. Nevertheless, he and the organization which he led were found ready. On 25th August, 1914, as noted by Hopkins, Ellis cabled His Majesty as follows:

"In part evidence of a United Canada in this crisis of the Empire I offer to Your Majesty the respectful homage of 350,000 active and unattached members of the Loyal Orange Association of British North America, pledged at all times to defend Your Majesty's person, Crown and Empire. We solemnly renew our allegiance and declare our readiness to support by any material and effective means the righteous cause in which the British army and navy are now engaged."

Although Ellis started his professional career in Stratford, Ontario, he soon followed the popular westward trek, and set up in the little town of Fleming, Saskatchewan. He sat in the first Saskatchewan Provincial Legislature, and served as Grand Master of the Saskatchewan Orange Lodge. He was a Conservative, a member of the Church of England, and an ardent Imperialist, in days when as always imperial connection exerted a paramount influence in Canada's national development.

Living so far afield, it was impossible for Ellis to take as active a part in Grand Lodge affairs as he might have liked, but "his demeanour was marked by modesty, cheerfulness,

and sincerity", and "he made a fine impression on audiences". He was small of stature—not more than five feet six inches in height—and weighed some hundred and fifty pounds. His speeches were short and to the point, well phrased and well grounded in the principles of the Order, emphatic and convincing on all questions with which he had to deal.

During the World War, the Loyal Orange Association virtually transferred itself bodily to Flanders fields and, in 1917, Grand Lodge did not meet because of the desperate situation. Scarcely a regiment sailed overseas without a number of Orangemen among the officers and in the ranks. It is impossible to compute in figures the total contribution of the Order, but Canada's record is typical.

Sir Sam Hughes, Canada's Minister of Militia, was a son of John Hughes of County Tyrone, Ireland. He and his brother, James L. Hughes, Toronto public school inspector and Conservative candidate in Peel in 1890, were both outstanding Orangemen. James L. insisted on the use of the Bible in public schools but opposed denominational teaching and, according to the *New York School Journal*, took "a very prominent part in resisting the aggressions of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy". He was Deputy Grand Master of Ontario West in 1887 and 1891. Sir Sam had been Grand Auditor of the Orange Order and, as Major Hughes, was one of the original members of the Association when it received its charter in 1890.

About midway in the war, Sir Sam estimated that 60,000 Orangemen had flocked to the colours. By November, 1918, therefore, when 595,441 troops had been recruited in the Dominion, it may safely be postulated that at least 80,000 were Orangemen. This comprised practically every able-bodied member of the Association at the outbreak of hostilities.

Colonel R. V. Conover, V.D., a lieutenant with the Peel contingent in Canada's first expeditionary force, participated in an unusual Orange venture overseas—the organization, after the old pattern, of a regimental lodge. On 23rd January, 1915, a big marquee was set up at Bustard camp beside the old Roman road over Salisbury plain, and here, amid the shadows and small, flickering lights of the Canadian encampment, Conover brought Reverend Mr. Ewart,

Grand Secretary of England, to institute a new lodge among the Orange officers and men of the 4th Battalion. Some of the privates thought an occasional Roman Catholic was getting military promotion out of turn, and their officers decided an Orange lodge might encourage the boys, and at the same time promote a feeling of solidarity among the various ranks.

Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Colonel) John Hyde Bennett became first master, and Conover treasurer. Members included: Lieutenant Gordon Brown, later sheriff of Halton county and Lieutenant-Colonel Brown of the Halton Rifles; Lieutenant C. B. Brant, a full-blooded Indian (a Mohawk, great-grandson of Chief Brant of Revolutionary War fame) and killed at Ypres; Lieutenant A. J. Hoshal; Major (now Colonel) A. T. Hunter (made chaplain of the lodge); and many others, including Colour-Sergeant S. J. Jaminson whose illustrious record appears in *From Brock to Currie*.

After the first meeting, members eagerly awaited the coming of the charter. Already, however, the benefits of lodge association made themselves felt. It was a valuable contact between officers and men, and contributed to regimental efficiency. The men felt they had someone who took a personal interest in them, to whom they could come for advice and help.

Of future events, Lieutenant-Colonel Bennett gives a stirring account:

"We left for France, and eventually arrived at Vlamertinghe, near Poperinghe, just in time for the second Battle of Ypres. I myself was billeted for a time in an almshouse run by some nuns, and it was here, oddly enough, that the military postman brought me the carton containing the Orange charter for the battalion lodge. This was on 22nd April, 1915. Before I had even had a look at the charter, we were ordered into the second Battle of Ypres and I went off with charter, carton and all, in my haversack.

"Events moved swiftly. As scout officer I was dispatched to locate the left flank of the Geddes Detachment. At the pontoon-bridge over the canal, by the estaminet, I picked up a bicycle and two signallers, and started off for St. Jean. I had some trouble getting off with the bicycle, and decided that this was on account of my greatcoat and pack, so I threw these against a barn door, intending to come back for them later. When I got back to Brigade Headquarters I was immediately sent off in another direction to establish contact with the French right. When I rejoined my unit I found it already hotly engaged, and from that day to

this I have never learned what happened to greatcoat, pack and charter. After the second battle of Ypres, we never had another meeting. Many of the men had been killed. Only 182 mustered out of a full battalion strength when the first count was made."

Another Canadian lodge was instituted at Bramshott camp early in 1916, and fared better than the first. It was open to men of various units, and the survivors brought back with them their English warrant, No. 880, which the Grand Lodge of British America duplicated for them. This lodge, confined to overseas men and their descendants, now sits in Toronto as Men of Empire L.O.L. No. 880.

While Orangemen thus carried the activities of the Order into the very mud and blood of Flanders fields, Orangemen left at home because of age or physical unfitness interested themselves in Red Cross work and kept alive the fraternal tie that bound them to their brethren overseas. Members who served at the front were often kept in good standing on the books "until their anticipated safe return". But the home organization was a mere skeleton. There could be no parades worth mentioning and there was little activity. The Imperial Grand Orange Council suspended its meetings until 1920, and in Canada, as through the Empire at large, the Order concentrated all its energies on patriotic service.

Since the war, the services of Orangemen have been commemorated in various ways. Their names are written in their books of record and engraved upon tablets on the walls of their own lodges. Wreaths placed on the cenotaph in Toronto and on war memorials elsewhere are fitting reminders that Orange lodges have not forgotten their heroes.

Peel Orangemen were not behindhand in enlisting. The complete military records of many appear in the author's military history, *From Brock to Currie*, but a few may be mentioned specially here because of their own brilliant achievements or of long Orange records in their families.

Among representatives of old Orange families who saw service was Major (later Brigadier-General the Honourable) Thomas Laird Kennedy, a grandson of William Kennedy, one of the first members of Lake Shore Lodge. Tom enlisted as a member of L.O.L. No. 1181, Cooksville. His brother, John Robert, was also a member of the Orange Order.

Malcolm Smith Mercer served overseas for the duration

of the Great War, becoming Brigadier-General on 29th September, 1914, temporary Major-General and Divisional Commander towards the end of 1915, and Companion of the Order of the Bath, London Gazette dated 22nd June, 1915. He was Mentioned in Despatches on three other occasions and was killed in action on 3rd June, 1916. As a young lawyer, he opened an office at Cooksville, which he visited twice weekly and, according to Kennedy, he purchased "Cox's Folly", a farm about lot 19, concession 1, south of Dundas street. During this period he had joined the Port Credit lodge.

Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick J. Hamilton is a descendant of a distinguished Irish family which has long been Orange, although the first Colonel Hamilton known in history was killed fighting on the wrong side at the Battle of Aughrim. However, a nephew, Captain James Hamilton, brought help to Derry before the beginning of the actual siege and was subsequently created Baron of Mountcastle and Viscount Strabane. The family settled in County Tyrone, where they may have known the original Rutledge forbears. Indeed, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Great-grandfather James may have tutored some of the young Hamiltons in mathematics. Colonel Hamilton's father, James, was a native of County Fermanagh, however, and was initiated in the Orange Order at Tempo in 1846. Four years later he came to Canada, where he was a member successively of No. 263, Streetsville, and of No. 163, Port Credit, and held a commission in the Peel militia.

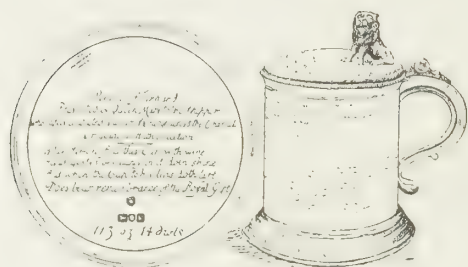
Captain Frederick George Mara, son of Thomas Mara, veteran Brampton Orangeman, and grandson of that Andrew who was born in Carrick-on-Shannon and early came to Woodhill, enlisted in March, 1917, and served in England with the Y.M.C.A. Thomas was the oldest parader in the 1936 walk in Brampton, which took place as this book was going to press.

The author's brother, Jeffrey Harper Bull, entered the Orange Order in England, where he was living at the outbreak of war, and where he enlisted. He became a major on 1st July, 1916, received the D.S.O. on the field of battle and was killed in action on 8th August, 1918.

Frank E. Odlum, a great-grandson of the original

Abraham who planted King William's tree on the town line between Albion and The Gore of Toronto, enlisted in the Queen's Own Rifles with his father, Albert Ernest, and is lieutenant-colonel of a Toronto regiment. Albert Ernest Odlum and his brother Thomas, who also served overseas, were both over age at the time of enlistment. Four more

great-grandsons of Abraham also served overseas—Brigadier-General Victor W. Odlum, Edward F., Joseph W. (killed at Ypres, 1915), and Howard E. (killed at Lens, 1917).



LOVING CUP

A replica of the tankard, in the Huth collection, that was presented by Queen Mary to the skipper who safely conducted William of Orange across the Channel. It bore the following inscription: Gift of Perkins Bull Hospital patients to Mrs. Perkins Bull. The hospital was opened by the Lord Mayor of London, and visited by Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary. This trophy is now the Perkins Bull family baptismal cup.

William Tiers Bleakley, who served as major during the Great War, carries on the Orange tradition of his father, the Fenian Raid sergeant.

The family of the revered Michael Crawford was also represented

by a great-grandson, R. Reeve Crawford, who enlisted in 1917 in the Canadian Army Medical Corps, was transferred in England to the infantry, and served one year in France. Doubtless there were many other members of Private Reeve's generation who enlisted but whose records are too remote from Peel to be included in this history.

Frank Taylor, who received the Military Medal and Bar during the Great War, was a son of John Taylor of L.O.L. No. 148, Castlemore, and a grandson of William Taylor of Tullamore lodge. Frank's mother was Elizabeth Hassard, daughter of William Hassard, a native of County Fermanagh, who kept hotel at Castlemore and was master of L.O.L. No. 696, the second Castlemore lodge.

Private John Arthur Sweatman Hanna, who has held various offices in L.O.L. No. 63, Mono Road, and his sister Edna C., now Mrs. McKay of Toronto, who served as a nurse during the war, represent another long line of ardent Orangemen. Their father, Thomas Henry Hanna, five times

reeve of Albion and once warden of Peel, was district master for many years and county master for two. Their grandfather, William Hanna, J.P., deputy reeve of Albion and lieutenant colonel in the Cardwell Reserve Militia, joined Sandhill L.O.L. No. 184 in 1854 and was a member of Albion Scarlet Chapter. William's father, John, likewise a Justice of the Peace, came to Albion in 1830 from County Monaghan, where he had been first master of L.O.L. No. 777. John's daughter married Thomas Elliott, long an official of L.O.L. No. 184, so that she too came as close as she could, in that day, to being affiliated with the Order. The Protestant spirit of this family is no more than might be expected, considering their traditional claim to descent from Latimer and Oliver Cromwell.

The Great War strengthened the current trend towards consolidation at larger centres, the outgrowth of industrial changes in the eighties and nineties. Country churches and schools were among the first landmarks to disappear. The closing in 1921 of Salem, the old Rutledge Wesleyan Methodist church and Sunday-school at Broddytown, is only one example of a general movement.

The small rural lodges of Peel and other counties have vanished too. The ancient No. 5 from Orangedale and No. 10 from Derry West have moved to Brampton. Britannia No. 263 has been amalgamated with Streetsville No. 290. Castlemore has disappeared altogether. Orangeism, like industrial life, is now perhaps stronger and better organized, but both have lost a certain racy local flavour of stirring independence which they possessed in pioneer days.

William Rutledge, now past three score and ten, went, like his church and his lodge, to Brampton. No. 5 met under the old warrant in the new centre, but most of the Salem congregation worshipped in Grace Methodist church, later Grace United. In both organizations, he was one of the last links with the pioneers. To the end he remembered his father's and grandfather's stories in vivid detail, particularly those relating to the progress of the Orange Order. As years passed, he was often seen to shake his head sadly and lament the good old days when a conflict lurked around every corner, and 12th July, 5th November, or any day that happened to be election day, was a day of blood and fire.

However veterans may regret the past, the twentieth century sees the Order numerically stronger than ever and politically more influential. New territory has been conquered, too. The Imperial Grand Orange Council noted with pleasure in 1929 that the Order had been introduced into Latin America, that a lodge had been instituted in the Republic of Cuba, with one of the author's sons as first master, and that steps were being taken to organize another in British Honduras.

The international good feeling which the Order has done much to cultivate since the Great War was appropriately suggested when Armstrong Memorial L.O.L. No. 137, Toronto, celebrated an international night in August, 1928. Members were present from the Old Land and from the United States, and the author, a former member of the Grand Lodge of England and Grand Master of Latin America, was one of the speakers.

Much of the progress of the Order since the war must be credited to the quiet and efficient leadership of Horatio Clarence Hocken who, succeeding Ellis, presided over the destinies of British America from 1918 to 1921. Under the new Grand Master, measures were adopted to provide more adequate revenues for Grand Lodge purposes. Described by the *Toronto News* as "a man of strict integrity, of fine public spirit and of practical temper", Hocken's journalistic experience enabled him to serve the Order most effectively as editor and manager of the *Sentinel*. He was well known in municipal affairs in Toronto and served as controller, 1907-9, and 1911. Senator Hocken's thorough understanding of Orange history and his interest in it are indicated by his foreword to this volume.

Honourable W. D. McPherson, K.C., Hocken's successor, was for over forty years a close friend of the author. For several terms he sat in the Ontario legislature as member for Toronto West, but he was perhaps even more widely known on account of his legal attainments. His municipal experience was truly catholic. He served on the Toronto school board, the public library board, hospital committees, and war-time welfare organizations. He devoted himself most whole-heartedly to his duties as Grand Master of British America and made extensive tours of the eastern and



Courtesy H. J. Hamilton, Imperial Grand Orange Council of the World, Wm. B. Macpherson,
& W. M. Alexander

GRAND MASTERS, BRITISH AMERICA

Top row: Dr. J. W. Edwards, M.P., Hon. T. Ashmore Kidd, V.D.; middle: Dr. D. D. Ellis, M.P.P.; bottom row: W. D. Macpherson, K.C., J. Starr Tait, K.C.



Courtesy Wm. Verner

CEDAR MILLS L.O.L. No. 455

Back row: ———, Wm. Toase, Tom Foote, ———, ———, Jeremiah Taylor, Robt. Matson, ———, Sam Jefferson, ———; middle row: ———, Abraham Walton (in front), Tom Stinson, Geo. Verner Jr., John Law, Jas. Smith, Wm. Riddell; front row: Geo. Berry, Jas. Riddell, Robt. Robb, Clifford Bible (in front), Jim Bible, John Shore, John Rolley, Geo. Verner Sr., John Verner, Thos. Argent, Geo. Walton, Geo. Rolley.



Courtesy Miss Liza Robertson

SANDHILL L.O.L. No. 184

Standing: Thos. Hanna, Robt. Hicks, Wm. Hanna, ———, Wm. Hamilton, T. P. Wilson, John Elliott, J. B. McCauley, Alex. McKee, Adam Dean, John Stubbs, Harvey Weir, Geo. Moore, David Weir (in front), Jos. Hodgson, ———, Geo. Robinson, Hugh Wilson, Wm. Wilson, David White, Steven Strong; kneeling: Robt. Hanna, ———, Jas. McKee, Albert Fleming, John Dean, John Weir, Thos. Weir, ———, Albert Scott; sitting: ———, ———, John Young, Thos. Anderson, Wm. A. Wilson, Alex. Wilson, Jas. Strong, Henderson Craig, Jim Thompson.

western provinces, neglecting his important law practice for weeks at a time. He was also an enthusiastic Mason, filling the highest positions in that Order. "A gentleman of the old school . . . courtly, affable and reasonable", McPherson was everywhere greatly loved and admired, and his death in 1929 brought a feeling of personal loss to all who had been associated with his "winning but strong personality".

Honourable John Wesley Edwards, M.P., M.D., next Grand Master, came of English and U.E.L. stock. After some years in teaching and medical work, he was in 1908 elected to the House of Commons, being re-elected in 1911 and 1917. He was an active and energetic politician, called by the *Montreal Gazette* "one of the best platform speakers in Eastern Ontario". Political admirers praise his outspoken courage and bulldog tenacity. The Honourable Arthur Meighen, in whose cabinet he served, says of him:

"Dr. Edwards was one of the best fighters I have been associated with in Parliament. He rarely made a speech that was not well charged with fire. His courage was admirable and all foes looked alike to him."

Many still delight to recall his attacks, in the federal house, upon the road-building policy of the then Drury government, and his parody of *The House that Jack Built* occasioned much delight to his party. One verse follows:

"This is the road that Biggs built,
The costly road that Biggs built;
It runs right through Frank Biggs's farm
Between Biggs's house and Biggs's barn,
It doesn't do Frank Biggs any harm,
The costly road that Biggs built."

The *Ottawa Journal* sometimes criticized Edwards for his extreme partisanship, and one day he retaliated with one of the most vicious diatribes of the day, picturing the owner as starting years ago with his feet in the public trough, later with his entire body, and finally wallowing and smothering in patronage.

On the more sober side, too, Edwards possessed unquestionable political acumen. He was interested in immigration and especially in bringing to Canada those of British birth, and was Minister of Immigration and Colonization in the Meighen cabinet of 1921.

Edwards furnished spirited leadership to the Order during his term, 1924-7. Indeed, according to *The Royal Archer*, he gave "practically his whole time for four years . . . travelling the Dominion, making speeches and delivering lectures . . . to keep before the members . . . certain public questions which required the consolidation of Orange opinion".

John Easton, Grand Master from 1928 to 1930, was particularly interested in the development of international relationships, and was one of the sponsors of the new Cuban lodge already mentioned. In 1929 he became president of the Imperial Grand Orange Council. The *Sentinel* was officially and completely taken over by the Order during his administration.

The late Grand Master, Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Thomas Ashmore Kidd, V.D., M.L.A., late Speaker of the Ontario Legislature, is typical of his time. He has an illustrious war service record, and in addition to his distinctions in other fraternal societies, has had the double honour of serving as Grand Master of the Orange Young Britons of British North America and subsequently of the Grand Orange Lodge itself. He is interested in all sorts of philanthropic undertakings and is an enthusiastic sportsman. Above all, he has a warm, kindly personality, and when he makes friends he keeps them.

Starr Tait, the present Grand Master, hails from the Maritimes. As K.C., he has practised law in St. John, New Brunswick, for about twenty-five years, during most of which time he has been active in the Order.

A special word might be said of the faithful and loving service of Loftus H. Reid, the ever urbane secretary of Grand Lodge. Reid likes to keep the date of the Battle of the Boyne constantly before him, and the *Toronto Evening Telegram* noted, on 12th July, 1935, some of his methods of doing it:

"His office telephone number is Elgin 1690. His home telephone number is Grover 1690. His automobile license number is A1690. All by Mr. Reid's special request."

With such inspiration it is no wonder that he acquires knowledge and furnishes information to all interested in the past history and present aims of the Order.

Local officers have been as wise and courageous as those of Grand Lodge. Among the recent Peel masters have been many with long records of personal and family service in the Order. William Harris of Brampton, county master, 1930, is grandson of Thomas Curry, pioneer member of the famous No. 10, Derry West. Thomas Nixon, county master in 1932, is a son of John Nixon, county master in 1873. Roy M. Lavery, county master in 1931, son of R. J. Lavery, veteran Palgrave Orangeman, served as Grand Marshal of British America in 1931-2 and Deputy Grand Treasurer in 1933-4. Such appointments are an even greater honour to the county today, when several thousand lodges are represented, than in the old days when there were only two or three hundred.

Under the kindly care of guardians like these, the Orange lily has blossomed from year to year in ever greater splendour. Could Ogle R. Gowan and his friends of the old Home District return, they would be amazed and enthralled to see the wonderful influence for good that has developed from the seed they sowed so lavishly about a century ago in the fertile soil of Canada. They would have taken special pleasure and pride in the great celebrations which in 1930 commemorated the hundredth anniversary of the Grand Lodge of British America. There were monster parades and demonstrations at county headquarters, and a special issue of the *Sentinel* was devoted to outlining the progress of various branches in the years that had elapsed since 1830.

In this centenary year the veteran William Rutledge, seated before the fire with a couple of cronies, looked up with pleasure from a copy of the *Sentinel* to read a tribute to his grandfather's friend:

"There have been many great and distinguished men in the Orange ranks—men who have stood for liberty, for an open Bible, and for the rights of the Protestant religion—yet, it must ever be generally and justly acknowledged that among all these splendid 'gentlemen unafraid' none is as worthy as Ogle Robert Gowan, the staunch young patriot and leader who, coming to Canada over a hundred years ago, became the 'Father, Founder and First Grand Master' of this powerful and beneficent Order."

As Rutledge finished reading this impassioned panegyric, his friends nodded emphatically.

"That's true," said one, "and a couple of years ago

Grand Lodge itself said so."

"I remember," agreed William Rutledge, "it was at the Alberta meeting in 1928 when they were talking about the phraseology of the memorial for the hall at Brockville."

Then the conversation veered to the subject of the memorial itself—a project which Mackenzie Bowell had suggested away back in 1877. In fact, Brockville lodge had been at work on it pretty steadily since 1908, when they had sent out their first appeal for contributions, praising Gowan as,

"A man of indefatigable energy who travelled up and down over almost every part of the country, from the City of Quebec in the east, to the City of Hamilton on the west, on foot, over logs, mud-holes and swamps, to plant our Order in the bush settlements—now converted into beautiful fields, gardens and cities—and who freely gave of his time, talents, money, mighty thoughts and daily toil, and who gave his life to the cause of Protestantism and Orangeism."

The building was finally made ready and dedicated by Grand Master John Easton on 4th June, 1930, at the first centenary celebration meeting at Brockville.



OGLE R. GOWAN MEMORIAL TEMPLE, BROCKVILLE, ONT.

The big centennial parade in Toronto in 1934 marked another high point in the history of the Order in Canada. Here, though no one realized it at the time, Orangemen were celebrating their 115th anniversary, their 115th parade. This time it was not, as on that first occasion over a century earlier, a straggling band of Irish immigrants com-

forting themselves in a strange, muddy, backwoods town with a miniature replica of the gallant pageantry they had known at home. No longer was it frowned upon by dignitaries and pelted by a rabble. Instead it was a special feature of the celebrations of a great city, the capital of a great province, and celebrating its centennial year.

More than 200,000 observers crowded the streets. Some 20,000 men, women, and children participated. There were representatives from 500 lodges and 20 counties, and many visitors from the United States. Orange parades are always colourful, but this one was particularly picturesque. Girls playing fifes disturbed the peaceful morning shadows of Queen's Park by serenading the newly formed Liberal government with *Protestant Boys* and *Rise, Sons of William*. White horses that on the previous day had been pulling loads of bread or of ice galloped gaily across the greensward. Hawkers sold orange birds on swinging strings and strange instruments that could only by courtesy be called musical.

In the parade, prominent dominion, provincial, and municipal officials rubbed shoulders with Indian chiefs. There were old and young, some in white, some in formal clothes, some in palm beach outfits, travelling in trucks, on bicycles, in pony carts, on foot, or in motor buses. Girls appeared in men's full evening dress, in kilts, and in patriotic costumes representing Britannia and other allegorical figures. One lodge carried scarlet umbrellas. Another was proud to announce itself the only Italian Orange lodge in the world.

Of special interest to Peel were two Toronto lodges, Reverend J. D. Morrow L.O.L. No. 3003, and Reverend J. D. Morrow L.O.B.A. No. 961. Morrow, a Toronto University class-mate of the author, was born in Churchville, of Irish parentage, and was noted for his fraternal work no less than for his athletic achievements. This famous sprinter became a Presbyterian minister and, during the war, an army chaplain.

The ancient Dublin L.O.L. from Campbell's Cross furnished a part of the Peel contingent at the 1934 parade in Toronto, and there were many other visitors from the county. It was a great day for the Order, and scores of Peel Orangemen were happy to share the rejoicing of the county

with which theirs had been so long united for Orange as for political activities.

In direct contrast with this peaceful hubbub comes the old-fashioned free-for-all put up by the Albion Irishmen following the 1935 federal elections. A score or more of Conservative Orangemen gathered in Palgrave to celebrate Graydon's victory in their own riding, regardless of the disaster which had attended their party as a whole. A bonfire, started by Roman Catholic rivals, introduced a decidedly jarring note, especially as it was placed defiantly in the old Tory stamping ground under the very windows of Doctor Reynar, veteran Orangeman. Naturally Tories put the fire out, but the road was narrow at this point and by mutual consent both parties, equipped with sticks, adjourned to fight their quarrel out in front of Matson's (Queen's) hotel.

The fight raged fast and furious and soon an impromptu dressing station had to be set up in the hotel shed. Here the Tories took their casualties, but the Horans did not respect the Red Cross, and Gerald Lavery, who was commissioned to look after the improvised hospital, had also to knock out two or three unwelcome assistants.

"That was a great day," said Robert George Logan, old-timer of Enniskillen L.O.L. No. 260, "and glad I was to have the chance of putting this blackthorn shillelagh to the use for which nature designed it."

Logan's father, William, a school-teacher from King township, joined Enniskillen L.O.L. No. 613 in 1861, and his sons, George S. F. and William, are also Orangemen. William married Stella Matson of Palgrave, and their son, William Robert, a year old, is already reaching out eager hands towards his father's Black regalia.

Robert, in spite of his venerable age, seems to have got into the very heart of the fight. He was knocked down, and overwhelmed, but when reinforcements of his own party finally pulled him out by the heels, his grip was unbroken, and he announced truculently that, "Not all the damned Papists in Albion can take this stick from a good Orangeman."

In 1935-6 Orangemen have been greatly distracted be-

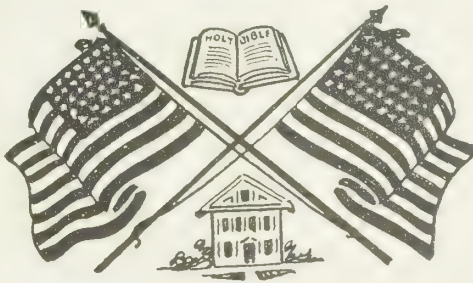
cause of the Ontario Liberal government's concessions to Roman Catholics. Grand Lodge of British America and Grand Lodges of Ontario East and West have expressed themselves strongly in this matter. A special effort therefore was made, in processions of 1936, to break previous records. Although the day was swelteringly hot, with the mercury hovering at about 100°, it is said some Orangemen walked in Toronto in the morning and Brampton or Hamilton in the afternoon. Six thousand paraded in Brampton and Cecil Armstrong, associate Deputy Grand Master, Ontario West, addressing them afterwards, said in part:

"The boldness of the Roman Church has been responsible for a lot of blinkers being removed from Protestant eyes recently. A few short months ago many of our Protestants were too proud to protest, but with every synod, conference, assembly and convention of the Church of England, United, Presbyterian and Baptist churches going on record as unanimously opposed to Hepburn's Roman Catholic separate school bill, the Protestants are awakened as never before in Ontario, Rome finds herself exposed as having gambled with the politicians for too much in a Protestant province."

Our Motto:

"NOW AS EVER"

100% AMERICAN



PUBLIC SCHOOL
OUR COUNTRY'S HOPE

"NO SURRENDER"

CHAPTER XVI
FROM THE BOYNE TO BRAMPTON

*Hark! down the Boyne's immortal flood,
Flows this sublime triumphant sound,
Where, like yon column, firm they stood,
Till victory's self their virtues crowned:
"Sires of William's glorious reign,
"Bid their sons their right maintain."*

IT IS, roughly, three thousand miles from the River Boyne in County Armagh to the Town of Brampton in Peel. By 1836 the Canadian county had approximately one Orangeman for each mile of that distance. If some herculean Orangeman with a fabulously big drum could awaken John Rutledge from his long sleep, the genial old Irishman would have reason to be abundantly satisfied with the resultant harvest of that first Protestant seed he had so devoutly sown in 1819.

Suppose that John, privileged like Hamlet's royal father to "revisit the glimpses of the moon", set out for one night only on a pilgrimage among the lodges he had known on earth. He would have to travel fast and make brief stops to cover all the ground.

It would be well for him to start at the mouth of the Credit and work northward to the Forks, thence north-east to Mono Mills, and down through Albion and The Gore of Toronto, then swinging around westward to his former home near Brampton. Let reader and author fare forth together with him.

Port Credit was in the olden days a little harbour not unlike an English coastal fishing village. John Rutledge finds it now a thriving industrial and residential Toronto suburb. The Orange lodge, although dormant for a time, is forging ahead, and so John heaves a sigh of satisfaction.

Its home is no longer the little log shanty where first it met. In fact, that haunted cabin was soon abandoned and a small frame lodge, on the corner of lot 9, on the Lake Shore road, put up towards the end of John's life, is gone too. Back in 1878 the Orangemen got together, moved it into town, and planted it next door to the Church of England.

Port Credit lodge seems soon to have hibernated like the

bear, and for a time to have been living but inert. In 1880, Grand Lodge complained of receiving no returns. In 1887 and 1888 there was again talk of arrears and of an incomprehensible failure to report. Provincial Grand Lodge minutes of 1890 sounded more hopeful, noting that the dormant warrant of No. 163, Port Credit, was to be revived, and there was reference to A. Block as master.

Seventeen years later, after further vicissitudes, Lake Shore L.O.L. No. 163 took on new life. It had never really died, for a nucleus of faithful souls always remained to cherish Orange traditions. A press clipping of 3rd October, 1932, refers to four brethren having an aggregate continuous membership of more than two hundred years (Abraham Block with sixty-four, William Harrison, W. Oliphant, and E. W. Gordon, each with over fifty). John looks up from the scrap-book with a proud smile, whips his cloak around him, and hurries northward.

At Cooksville the phantom finds a lodge claiming to be as old as Port Credit's. Certainly it is nearly as large, but age is another matter. Grand Lodge minutes in 1847 refer to Cooksville in connection with a warrant for L.O.L. No. 81. John thinks someone has blundered here, because the brethren mentioned as coming to Grand Lodge from Cooksville were really representatives hailing from Churchville. The present Cooksville warrant, granted in 1864, was new that year, as its number, 1181, indicates, and it is a reasonable supposition that prior to that date Cooksville Orangemen attended at the Lake Shore. William Johnson of Dixie has told how, as a lad of eighteen, he took a load of brethren in William Kennedy's old lumber waggon down to Lake Shore lodge. Brigadier-General Thomas Laird Kennedy thinks this had formerly been the regular procedure, and this his grandfather's heavy waggon was one of the first in the district.

Joseph Wright was elected master of Cooksville lodge in 1864, and two years later was succeeded by John C. Price. This big man liked to be comfortable, but on 12th July, according to his daughter, he went forth uncomplainingly in the heavy, red merino robe and small, hot, tasselled cap which belonged to his rank. Without a murmur, he would come home from the walk, his shirt drenched in perspiration and his face as red as his cloak. It was all in the day's work,

for he was indefatigably full of Orange enthusiasm. He was much loved by the brethren, who serenaded him every Christmas. He treated all, and a pleasant social hour followed. Price remained master until the end of the seventies.

Meanwhile, about 1866 or 1867, a band was organized by Frank and James Morley, James, John, and Joseph King, John Peaker, Albert Waterhouse, John and William Weeks, and nine or ten others, including P. J. Latham, "a Yankee who was our best musician. . . . If you whistled a tune he could write out the music for it."

Cooksville lodge, with its hazardous and unsettled youth, may regard itself as a proof of the now popular apophthegm, "Life begins at forty". After George J. Cliff's mastership in 1880 and 1881, the lodge seems to have had its first of a series of trances. Fortunately, this was a short one. The *Sentinel* of 3rd April, 1884, refers to the recent reorganization of the lodge. Johnson describes this:

"Although the Cooksville Lodge had been in dormancy, the charter was still alive. Brothers McKee, James Guthrie, myself and a couple of others took hold of it. With just a quorum we started anew in the house where Samuel Ritchie and his sister lived, but it burned down some years ago.

"This was in about 1885. We met there for five or six months, then moved into Cooksville, to William Snowden's house. We were there about a year and moved again, this time to Bowden's Hall in Cooksville, where the hotel was, that is, where the butcher shop now is."

After the late eighties, Cooksville lodge disappeared for a time. It was cited as reorganized in 1891, and almost immediately vanished again from Grand Lodge reports. In 1907 it took on new life under brothers Frank Burkett, Robert Gummerson, and James Guthrie, and in 1908 Provincial Grand Lodge granted a dispensation for its reopening.

Gummerson, an interesting old bachelor brother, died when seventy-eight, having, according to neighbourhood gossip, spent most of his adult life evading a breach of promise judgement taken out against him by a neighbour—needless to say, not of the Orange faith. His "bachelor's hall" provided an ideal meeting place for the lodge when first reorganized. His brother Alfred, a Toronto policeman, and other members of his family, have also been Orangemen.

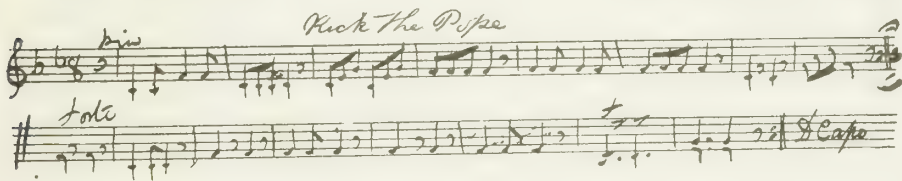
The real hero of the 1907 reorganization, however, was James B. Guthrie (or Guthrey, the spelling under which the

family took up land in Toronto township). He was a son of Richard Guthrie, County Sligo Orangeman, and long a member of L.O.L. No. 140, Toronto. James B. joined the 'Prentice Boys in 1884 when just sixteen. Coming to Dixie in 1890, he must have found Cooksville lodge dormant and linked up with Port Credit, of which he was treasurer for some years. He was glad to affiliate with a more accessible lodge, and by 1927 he had been master of L.O.L. No. 1181 for fifteen years, district master for two, and county master for two.

About 1927, enthusiasm was rife. There was talk of forming a Royal Black Preceptory. Sixty members of Cooksville lodge belonged to King Solomon Preceptory in Toronto, and forty were Red Cross men. More important still, a new hall was under way. Inside three years it was in use, the mortgage had been paid off, and the document burned, appropriately enough, at the 5th November banquet, which has been a traditional celebration on Dundas street and along the lake shore since the days of Michael Crawford and John Rutledge.

When about to leave, John is startled at seeing the names of two organizations, both entirely new to him—the Orange Young Britons, and the Ladies' Orange Benevolent Association. Both are highly spoken of, and are apparently desirable additions to the Orange fold. Satisfied, the phantom speeds on to Dixie, or rather to Hawkins's Corners.

He finds no trace of the lodge worked up by William, the big, gruff, swarthy son of his old friend, Squire John Hawkins, although it was formally organized under warrant No. 1027, taken out on 9th November, 1859, by Alex-



Courtesy Brig.-Gen. T. L. Kennedy

FROM MUSIC BOOK OF VICTORIA BRASS BAND, SYDENHAM, 1859

ander Davis, and once renewed. It seems to have had heavy going from the beginning. Grand Lodge records show it dormant in 1862, but revived by 1866 when Francis Shaver

was master, succeeded by William Hawkins.

Undiscouraged, the shade continues to search and looks for descendants of his quondam associate, William Kennedy, who succeeded to Squire John's property. The Kennedys on Dundas street are still staunch Orangemen. There are no old minute-books in their home, but there are records of an Orange band which thrilled the community in the seventies, probably identical with the previously mentioned Cooksville band. Its mementoes include some old, hand-written music and references to such worthies as Joseph Goldthorpe, John and William Weeks, and John Kennedy. The spectre chuckles delightedly, but does not pause to try over the music. Recalling old parades and the stirring sound of fifes and drums, he wheels north-westward to Streetsville.

Here is found, meeting in the old Rutledge hall, one of Peel's strongest lodges, an amalgamation of two which John remembers well. As far back as his son's day—perchance even in his own time—Britannia L.O.L. No. 263 and L.O.L. No. 290 seem to have carried on their good work side by side, amicably sharing a hall and responsibilities, and co-operating to secure bands for 12th July. As for expenses, justice held in even hand the scale; a resolution in 1886 provided that if No. 290 scrubbed the hall this year, No. 263 would scrub it next. In 1915 the lodges joined, retaining the senior warrant number but adopting a new name, Union.

In the seventies, Reverend John Carry of L.O.L. No. 263, a Church of England clergyman, was elected Deputy Grand Chaplain. Recently the same lodge has provided two county masters, both from the Bonham family, John Thomas and his son, Victor J. The latter served overseas during the Great War.

In close co-operation with this lodge John discovers a branch of the Ladies' Orange Benevolent Association (Jeanie Gordon L.O.B.A. No. 464) and a society of Orange Young Britons. Reading between the dull lines of their minutes, the newcomer begins to visualize something of the character and work of these organizations. It is a revelation.

The ladies' lodge is young but prosperous. Among its members are wives and daughters of Orangemen whose names have long been familiar in the county. John reads

with gusto an account of presentations made in December, 1934. "W.M. Sister Rutledge [Mrs. J. G.] presented Sister Bonham with a W.P.M. jewel and an Honorary Certificate", in token of her services and the high esteem in which she was held. Sisters Campbell and Adamson, two other charter members, received the emblem of the Order for long and faithful service, and Mrs. Rutledge received a badge. Among recent officers are Mrs. L. C. Elliott, Miss Eva Wolfe, and Mrs. Edgar Adamson.

In the middle seventies, the Young Britons were granted permission to use the Orange hall on payment of one fourth of the year's expenses or a dollar a month rent. This first junior Orange group was still flourishing in 1883, when it contributed fifteen dollars towards band charges for the twelfth. About this time the Grand Master of Western Ontario pointed out that,

"The Young Men's Protestant Benevolent Association, (who were formerly known as the Orange Young Britons) have eliminated the Oath of Allegiance from their obligation, thereby severing any sympathy which the Orange Order has had for them as Orange Young Britons."

The constitution of the junior order was amended, with a view to exercising closer oversight of its activities. This disciplinary gesture was resented by some, and the Streetsville society disappeared for several decades.

The present Streetsville Britons were organized in the middle nineteen-twenties by John W. Drennan, whose father, Joseph Drennan, had come to Streetsville L.O.L. No. 290 in 1883 by certificate from L.O.L. No. 131, County Derry.

Another important allied organization of which John sees a record in Streetsville is Royal Black Preceptory No. 111. This ancient brotherhood, on account of "differences on minor matters", had lapsed about 1874, but revived in 1884. Some thirty years later it moved to Brampton.

The Streetsville known to the present generation of Rutledge Orangemen—Cowan, James, and A.—is not that of their forefathers, William and Henry, but the village has always been a popular centre in which to walk on the twelfth. The Brampton *Times* in 1872 noted that the stillness of the morning air had been disturbed by the beating of drums and the playing of fifes, as many vans of Orangemen

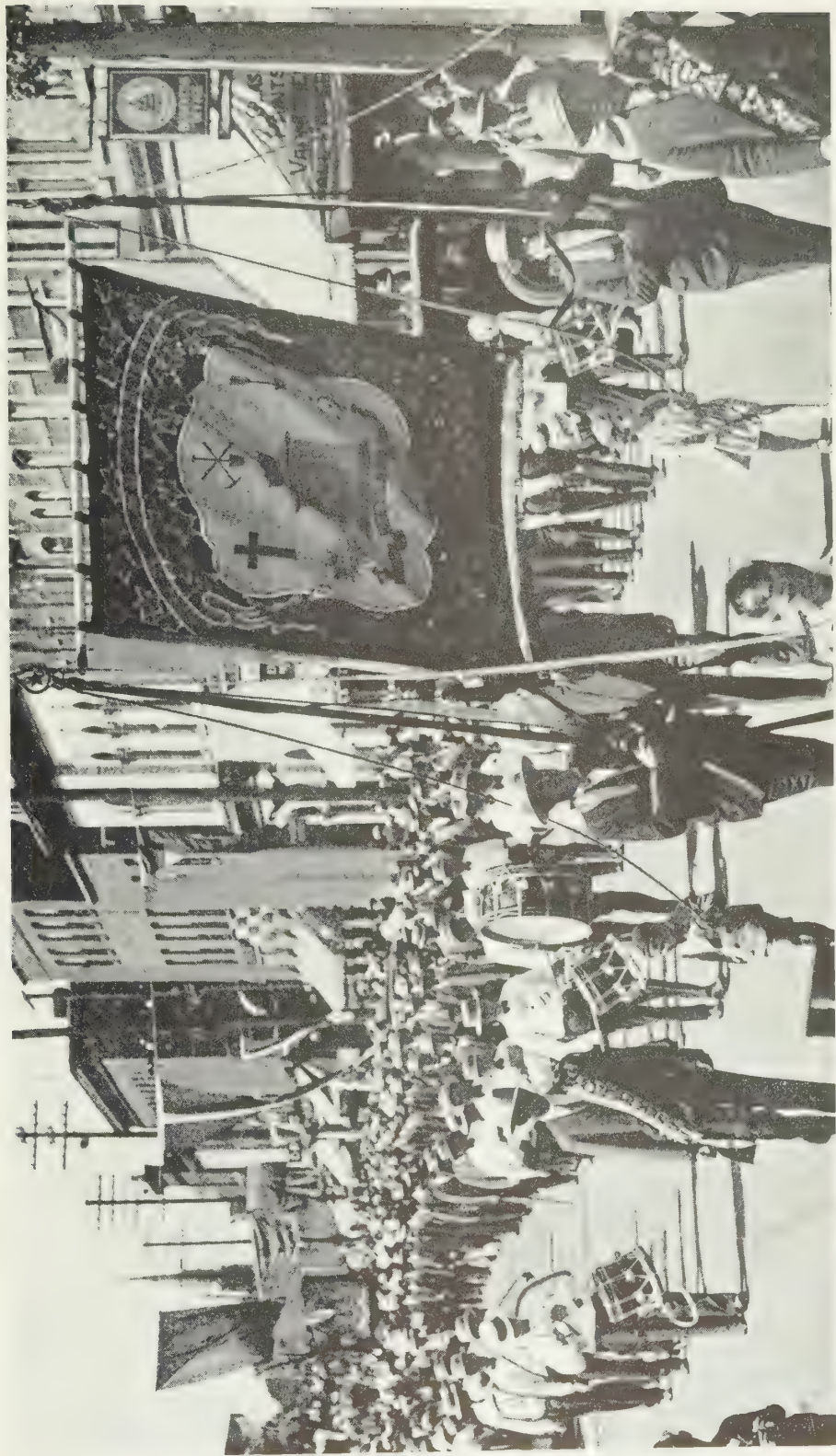
passed through *en route* to Streetsville. Again in 1877, according to Duggan's diary, this was the place of assembly. Thus with real pleasure the phantom glances through fairly complete accounts of the 1907 celebration in the "veteran village". Twenty lodges were present from Peel and York and doubtless some from Halton too, but ninety-three-year-old James Graham of Cheltenham, seventy-seven years an Orangeman, carried off the silk hat as the oldest brother present.

A few moments in the cemetery to see the graves of departed Rutledges—the explosive Henry, that famous paterfamilias, and his wife, Arabella; a son, James, and James's wife, Isabella—and so along the Credit to Meadowvale. Alas, the lodge here is no longer functioning. It was worked up through the agency of Michael Crawford in 1857, the year of John Rutledge's death, and in 1858 started bravely with thirty or more members, including Thomas and Joseph Graham, William Tilt, Luther, George, and Andrew Cheyne, George and William Hamilton, Alexander and James Broody (Broddy), George Birdsall, and Thomas Grafton.

Birdsall, a militia captain, son of Lieutenant-Colonel William Birdsall whose story is told in *From Brock to Currie*, resided on the old Manor farm at Harris's Corners. The young man was drowned while bathing. Francis Birdsall, a brother of Colonel William, belonged to L.O.L. No. 62 and was a Grand Committee-man in the fifties.

No. 708 rented a hall for 5s. a month, lighting it with candles at 9d. or, a little later, at 15¢ a pound. Eight years after this, it considered taking over a disused schoolhouse, but decided instead to raise enough to build a new hall. A suitable site proved hard to find, and in October, 1872, members decided to "except the ground from Brother Kerney for a Hall over the shed". Meanwhile a room was rented at 50¢ a month. In the summer of 1873, a Sons of Temperance lodge was granted the use of the hall for six months in return for helping to keep it clean.

Kerney was doubtless Joseph (1831-94), son of Francis (1794-1868), who emigrated from Ireland in 1805 and served in the War of 1812. Joseph farmed lot 9, concession 4 west, Toronto township, and his name appears among the



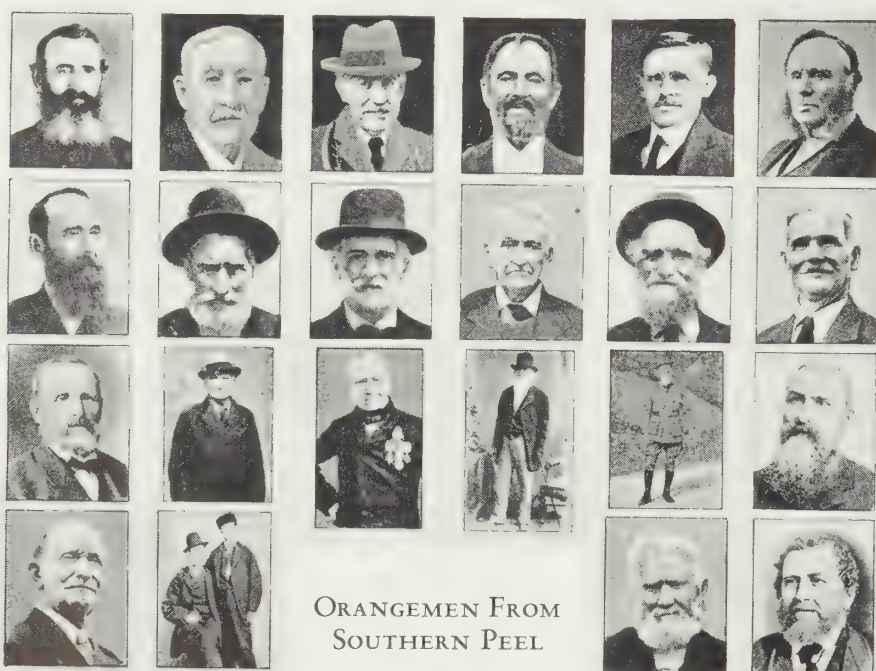
Courtesy The Daily Star, Toronto

BLACK KNIGHTS' PARADE, BRAMPTON



ORANGEMEN FROM CENTRAL PEEL

Top row: Daniel McBride and his wife Mary Ann Pickard, Mrs. Jas. Carruthers (Ann) & Jas. Carruthers, Mrs. E. H. Crandell (Harriett McBride) & E. H. Crandell (Mayor of Brampton); middle row: John A. Odlum, Jos. Figg, J.P., Luther Cheyne; bottom row: John Beatty, Jas. (California Jim) Stewart, C. V. Charters, Thos. Mara, Jas. Campbell, John Armstrong, Jos. Armstrong.



ORANGEMEN FROM SOUTHERN PEEL

Top row: Wm. Ferguson, Thos. Moore, Wm. Johnson, Jas. Bonham, Harry R. D. Woodall, Lt. Wm. Magrath; second row: John Graydon, Thos. Sloan, Peter V. Lemon, Jos. Silverthorne, Flood Lachlan, Wm. Harrison; third row: Sir Melville Parker, Jas. Morley, Lt.-Col. Peter Adamson, K.T.S., Major Thos. Magrath, Capt. the Rev. John D. Morrow, Dr. Samuel Allison; bottom row: Wilbur Oliphant, Abraham Block & Peter Sharpe, John Bonham, Jas. Hamilton.

tavern licensees.

Minute-books refer to the lodge room as a hall over a shed. Veterans speak of the loft "over a carriage shop opposite Moses Strong's hotel and now the residence of George Chavignaud, noted artist". The hall, however, was to the west on the south side of the road. Later it became Drake's furniture shop.

According to information gathered by Mrs. Emerson (Grace Brown), the lodge used to parade along the Meadowvale side-road and on the second line between Samuel Brown's and George Gooderham's. The latter used to provide the white horse. Henry Gooderham did not actually parade but stood on the store stoop with an eye to business as he watched them go by, William Elliott, M.P., carrying the banner.

A period of comparative inactivity followed. Minute books carry the record no further than 1878, and after Provincial Grand Lodge dues were paid in 1884 all was silence. There were no reports in 1888 and in 1902 it was noted that the lodge was dormant.

Stepping along eastward from Meadowvale to Derry West, the returned pioneer recalls great celebrations in the little hamlet which gave its name to the banner Orange district of Upper Canada. The district lodge bears the old name and, in spite of the passing away of so many small villages, the minute books show more primary lodges in operation now than in John Rutledge's day, but old L.O.L. No. 10 moved to the county town in the early eighties, and the four Derry West corners are not as John remembers them.

Westward, and again to his disappointment, Harris's Corners, that thriving centre of business and pleasure for Ginger Harris and his contemporaries, has likewise disappeared. No longer do Ginger's great coaches dash along the plank road with twenty or thirty passengers, starting at 6 a.m. and reaching Toronto in time for dinner, or on the homeward journey swinging up to Harris's Corners at 8 p.m., to drop the owner at his huge frame hotel while "General" Trimble goes on with a handful of passengers to Georgetown or perhaps even to Guelph. Ginger's wife, Pat Rutledge, that "wonderful singer, who could always be

counted on to draw a crowd", is gone too. The very stone foundation of the Grand hotel is uprooted; "the lights are fled, the garlands dead, the banquet-hall deserted".

North-west of Harris's Corners comes a still greater shock. The old Orange hall which stood at the cross-roads diagonally opposite the Whaley property, and in which James Gooderham, famous Streetsville local preacher of the sixties and seventies used to electioneer and conduct revivals with enthusiastic impartiality, has disappeared. With it have gone the records of Victoria L.O.L. No. 62, older than either of the Streetsville lodges, and the home of those "lusty Town-line Blazers who first taught the Roman Catholics and the Grits of Toronto township that Orangemen could look after themselves."

Some time early in the twentieth century this lodge passed quietly into oblivion. There was no report in 1901. Henry Rutledge, master in 1902, tried without success to stir up fresh interest, and after 1904, the lodge is not mentioned in provincial minutes. Mrs. Henry May of Brampton, daughter of James Cantelon and grand-daughter of John, tells how the members hated to see the hall pass, for secular uses, into other hands. When it was finally sold to Alexander Kent about 1905, Joe Hillis, who liked his drop, received the sad news in a tavern, where he had evidently been trying to fortify himself. Hillis cried so bitterly that the bar-tender too wept in sympathy.

John Rutledge himself feels moved almost to tears on realizing that there is no one left to share his memories of the early days and to fill in the gaps between so as to bring him up to date. He finds no trace of John Cook, whose mother, a sister of John Cantelon, used to carry the baby to see the parades. As a little boy, Cook had needed no urging to turn out. When eighteen, he joined the Order, and thereafter missed only one twelfth. He played in the lodge's brass band, but few, if any, of his fellow players are still living, and the fine blare of the brasses is as silent as the stirring rhythm of the fifes and drums which they replaced.

Descendants of John A. and Joseph S. Mason, of Adam Halliday, of John T. and John S. Hanna, and of Henry and James Arnott, have disappeared or have forgotten their Orange history. The last mentioned contingent came from

County Armagh and James was closely connected with the Rutledges, his son, William, marrying Mary Rutledge and his daughter, Susan, marrying Christopher B. Rutledge.

The visitor is sorry not to get in touch with William Menary whom he remembers as deputy master in 1834. Menary was one of five brothers who were born in County Tyrone, but emigrated and settled on the Peel-Halton border. In the sixties, William's brother, Isaac, became master of Hornby L.O.L. No. 165, and is supposed to have built the first Orange hall there. He also could have given the visitor full particulars as to the disappearance of No. 62, but he too is gone. He died in Erindale in 1921 at the patriarchal age of 104, after walking on 12th July for seventy-five years.

From Whaley's Corners the traveller strikes eastward along the town line to Churchville, formerly a thriving community on the Credit, a rival of Brampton, Malton, and Streetsville for selection as county town. Little of Churchville remains today—back in 1879 a friend of T. W. Duggan, driving there from Brampton returned to report, "It is a God-forsaken place"—yet there are historic names in the cemetery, which is still neatly kept. The slab which marks the grave of Nelson Atchison is in keeping with fraternal traditions, for it is carved with a semblance of the illustration heading an Orange chart.

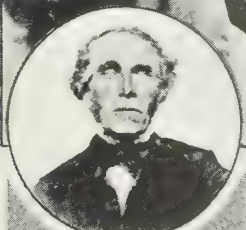
There were Churchville people in the Streetsville lodges and in old No. 62, but in 1847 the loyal pioneers from Counties Armagh and Fermanagh, then settled in and around the village, got together and formed L.O.L. No. 81, with George Brownlee as master, supported by a goodly membership. On 14th January, 1848, it received an 1831 warrant, presumably belonging to a dormant lodge. Henry Arnott, of the Church of England Arnotts, was a member here until he transferred to No. 62, although his kindred of the Presbyterian line, who are buried in the Churchville cemetery, retained membership at Streetsville. Other officers included: in the fifties—Thomas Maines of County Fermanagh, William Thompson, and William and John McCauley; in the seventies and eighties—Richard Dolley, Charles Wyles, and Richard and John Marchmont, the last of whom served as master for nearly twenty years.

Churchville lodge paraded in 1897 in Brampton, but thereafter little is known of it. The war put the finishing touch to its disintegration.

At Huttonsville, further north along the Credit, many lodge records were burned during a destructive fire in 1932. John's unfailing memory enables him to piece together the remaining fragments and to conclude that here is another old Churchville lodge. He recalls that Thomas Robinson, son of that famous family physician from County Armagh, Dr. John Robinson of Claude, was a member. James Hurst, a County Cavan man, lived at Churchville then too. He had come out about 1830 and served in the loyal militia in 1837. William Hunter of County Donegal, connected by marriage with the Wylies and the Steens, had also served during the rebellion. James and William Graham from County Antrim were two more pioneer members. James, a tanner by trade, had joined the Order before leaving Ireland, and on his hundredth birthday in June, 1914, boasted that in over eighty years he had only missed three walks.

John had seen the exodus of these men in the forties and fifties—Hunter first, in 1842, to Amaranth; Hurst, a former master, in 1850 to Brampton; Robinson to the old family homestead which he inherited in 1853; the Grahams to the north-western corner of the township. As a result, in the sixties the lodge seems to have moved north-westward to Centreville on the town line. Thomas Moore, who was made an honorary member of L.O.L. No. 5 in 1929 after sixty years' Orange service, was born just over the Halton county line in 1851 and joined Centreville Lodge No. 211 in 1868 when Richard Arthurs was master. The masters' addresses during ensuing years are given as Norval and Ashgrove and the centre of interest of the lodge seems to have shifted outside the county. Moore was master for nine years before moving to Brampton in 1893.

In the eighties, under the mastership of William Graham, the lodge apparently returned to Peel, and for the first time the master's address is given as Huttonsville. Thenceforward the history of the lodge seems to have remained unbroken. A new hall was opened on 4th June, 1888—perhaps the prospect of this lured the errant Orangemen back to the county. Since that date Fountain Valley L.O.L. No. 211



Courtesy Mrs. Leonard Verner & Geo. Robb

THE ROBBS OF CEDAR MILLS

ABOVE, top row: Leonard, Charles, Dr. Henry, Lillian (Mrs. Wilfrid Tegart), Dr. Irwin; second row: Martha (Mrs. Henry Verner), Robert, Catherine (Mrs. John Faris), Mrs. Robert (Margaret Jane Peters), Elizabeth (Mrs. Milton Reynolds). BELOW, LEFT, reading downwards: Samuel, his wife Martha Irwin, Samuel Jr. & his wife Elizabeth Stinson, George (Fort Qu'Appelle) & George (Orangeville). BELOW, RIGHT, top row: Margaretta (Mrs. Dr. Hare), Dr. George, Sarah (Mrs. Dr. Brown); second row: John, Dr. Samuel, Mrs. John; front row: Dr. John, Albert, Harry.



Courtesy Mrs. Alex. Walker

GIBSON FAMILY

Top row: *Eli, Mrs. Edward (Annie J. Crawford), Margaret (Mrs. Donald Baney)*; bottom row: *Alex. Walker & his wife Susan, Hiram, Alfred, Robert.*



Courtesy Mrs. Lorne Lipsett

LIPSETT FAMILY

Left, downward: *Lorne, George, Wellington*; centre: *Lewis & his wife Margaret Spence*; right, downwards: *James, John, W.S.*

has taken six first prizes for the best appearing lodge in Orange parades and its membership is still substantial.

The old Norval lodge, No. 158, which John remembers as having shared in No. 62's yeoman service during the rebellion, has vanished. Rutledge looks in vain for John Cook, secretary and later master, who represented it at county lodge away back in 1834 and took out its parchment warrant in 1846. In 1834 John purchased half of lot 6, concession 6 west, Toronto township. In 1838 Peter (1813-91), who married first Mary Coyne and later her sister, Ann Coyne, purchased half of his brother's lot and, in 1855, the rest of it. Whether it was this first John Cook or a son or nephew who was a militia captain and master of the lodge in the early sixties, is uncertain.

Other early officers, whose stories have vanished, include John Melville, Robert Lindsay, and David Faris who subsequently transferred his membership to L.O.L. No. 157, Brampton. A clipping which John Rutledge found in the course of his investigations at Huttonsville, however, throws a little further light on the history of this lodge. It deals with the memories of James Anthony of lot 10, 4th line west, Chinguacousy:

"Mr. Anthony has been an Orangeman for over 70 years, and celebrated the 12th in Brampton this year, meeting many old friends. He recalls the celebration in Guelph, over 50 years ago, when the Orangemen were forbidden to march in that city by the Roman Catholics. Dressed in his scarlet cloak, with a tri-corner hat, he took his lodge, L.O.L. No. 158, now extinct, to Guelph, and as master of the Lodge, walked at the head of one of the biggest demonstrations Guelph ever saw."

The lodge had a bad time in the late seventies and early eighties, but a renewal warrant was issued in Halton county in 1884. Under a succession of officers, including William Cook, the membership was held together until 1908. The lodge hall was sold soon after and is now a garage.

Instead of following the course of the Credit out of Peel at Norval the apparition wisely cuts back across country to Snelgrove, formerly Edmonton, to glance at L.O.L. No. 249. This was apparently in operation there from 1847 to 1902, when, after several years under the mastership of Brampton residents, it finally went dormant. The first master was John Fleming, Jr., son of a discharged Royal

York Ranger who, on 9th October, 1839, received a crown grant of an hundred acres, part of lot 24, concession 3 west, Chinguacousy. Robert Lipsic, Lipson, or Lipsett, who represented L.O.L. No. 249 on the Grand Committee in 1856, may be the Chinguacousy farmer who was master of L.O.L. No. 157, Brampton, in 1847, and subsequently bought land on lot 29, concession 2 west. Another lodge representative, Benjamin Cooney, was a neighbour of Fleming and Lipsett, and married Mary Lipsett.

Two Guys are mentioned—John, a county delegate in 1851, and Joseph, master in 1866. One of these is doubtless the J. Guy who bought the western part of lot 23, concession 1 west, Chinguacousy, on 18th January, 1869, and they may be related to Elizabeth Guy who is buried in Dixon's cemetery.

James McKinney, another officer, lived just over the county line. His son Francis was captain in the Peel militia and married first Ann and later Elizabeth Price.

Samuel Van Wyck represented the third generation of a large United Empire Loyalist family, the first Samuel Van Wyck and his wife, Sarah Banta, being alike of U.E. stock. Samuel II, like his better known uncle, John Van Wyck of Charleston, was a tavern-keeper. His hotel was an Orange rendezvous. He married Elizabeth Johnson, most likely a relation of Thomas Johnson, who also represented L.O.L. No. 249 in the middle fifties.

Most of the Grand Committee-men from Edmonton in the fifties seem to have been tavern-keepers. James K. Nesbitt and Thomas Johnson both received licences in 1861, and Edward Dawson, committee-man in 1857 and master in 1864, had licences throughout the sixties and seventies. Dawson was a captain in No. 4 Company, Cardwell, and later in the 36th Battalion.

Robert Quin, reported as master of No. 249 for fifteen years commencing in the late sixties and county master in the late nineties, was one of the interesting officers of this lodge. He came from County Armagh with his father who had been for more than twenty years a farrier surgeon with His Majesty's Forces, having joined the Royal Horse Artillery in 1798 and served throughout the Peninsular War. Robert was also a farrier surgeon and blacksmith, as were

two of his sons, John and Robert. The former, a major in the Canadian Field Artillery for thirty years, received a Long Service Medal.

Leaving Snelgrove and hurrying northward along the Centre road with Cheltenham as his ultimate goal, John Rutledge's progress is arrested at Campbell's Cross. This had always seemed to him a good location for an Orange lodge, and sure enough one is working there now. Although its original warrant dates back to the early 1830's, L.O.L. No. 76 does not seem to have got into its stride in Peel at any rate until 1847, when it took out its parchment warrant, or 1848, when it made its first appearance at district and county lodges.

Meeting in north-eastern Chinguacousy, apparently it first faced Sandhill, then known as Newton or Newtown Hewitt. James Porter and Alexander McKee, the first and second masters, were succeeded in 1850 by John Hewitt, district master of Albion, 1851-3. When Hewitt transferred to Mono Road L.O.L. No. 63, John Fleming, and later John Beatty, were worshipful masters. By this time McKee had joined the recently organized Tullamore L.O.L. No. 604 and several other changes, indicated by district minutes, suggest that the Sandhill membership was dropping away from the lodge. The climax may have come in 1857 when Fleming was expelled, together with William Switzer, a new Orangeman, previously rejected, whom he had illegally introduced.

At any rate the sixties saw No. 76 floundering in deep water. There were a number of suspensions and expulsions for non-attendance. Evidently the membership lived too far afield, for culprits can be identified living on lots some distance away. However, by 1866 the orientation had definitely shifted westward, and John Hackett of Campbell's Cross was listed as master.

Just when and how the change came about is difficult to ascertain. A celebration held at Campbell's Cross in 1932 was a centennial according to the *Banner and Times*, but only an eightieth birthday according to the *Toronto Telegram*. Grand Lodge minutes of 1857 still refer to the lodge as belonging to Newtown, and long lists of expulsions through the late fifties and early sixties seem to indicate a

moribund condition. Probably the movement was gradual. John Fleming and James Armstrong, master and secretary when the new warrant was granted in 1852, lived east of Sandhill, but John Beatty (1824-1908), deputy master, and William (1826-62), were really closer to Campbell's Cross. William married Mary Ann, daughter of Daniel McBride, also a Grand Committee-man. He was buried in Snyder's cemetery alongside the Snyders, his fellow Orangemen.

By 1870 the lodge, comfortably settled at Campbell's Cross, was meeting in a Methodist church. According to the records, it had been "deserted by its congregation". Still, there was a bit of a squabble when Reverend Isaac Middleton, a Church of England parson from Brampton, decided to hold services there. In order to do so he helped himself to twelve seats from Edmonton. This did not bother the Orangemen particularly, as they are always ready to lend a helping hand to a Protestant minister, but the people of Edmonton were less accommodating. Eventually, peace negotiations having broken down, the original owners marched over in a body to Campbell's Cross—at least so the story goes—and recaptured the dozen pews "practically at the point of the bayonet".

In 1924 James Campbell, aged ninety-three and for seventy-two years member of L.O.L. No. 76, received a gold-headed cane to commemorate the fact that he was the oldest Orangeman at the Brampton parade.

L.O.B.A. No. 889 meets at Campbell's Cross. Its fife and drum band gave a very good account of itself at Brampton on the twelfth in 1932. The men's fife and drum band likewise won the county prize, while the men's lodge was awarded first place for "best appearance".

From Campbell's Cross John returns to the Credit at Cheltenham, a village pleasantly located hard by where the river crosses the Caledon border into Chinguacousy. John remembers that warrant No. 138 moved into Peel from York in 1854, when William Stokes was master. This lodge had a fine record before becoming dormant in Etobicoke about 1847, but the spectre is pleased to see that its history in Peel is its best.

It drew members from a wide area. Masters during the eighties were George Watson of Alloa, F. M. McCollum of

Claude, Major P. T. McCollum, also county master 1874-5, and James Blackstock of Glen Williams. There were Cheltenham brethren too—among them William Henry, in whose honour the lodge is now named. The Henrys have always been lodge officers, the lists bearing the names of George and Hugh E. as well as the original inn-keeper, William, and his son, William H.

Eventually James Graham, formerly of No. 211, affiliated with No. 138, which secured a grant from the county lodge towards his expenses during his declining years. Reverend John L. Campbell, Presbyterian minister in Cheltenham, although he did not join the Orange Order until after leaving the village, used to express the utmost appreciation of Graham, then a younger man, and of his other Orange parishioners' helpful kindness.

The minister brought to Cheltenham his old open, topless buggy which, somewhat like the author, had seen better days. Campbell planned to buy a new covered buggy which he badly needed for his work, but just before he left for Toronto Exhibition to buy one, James Graham, above mentioned, called to tell him the bad roads and dirty weather in the fall of the year would ruin a new buggy. Campbell innocently took his advice. Then, one spring evening, leading families of Cheltenham and Mount Pleasant, carrying picnic baskets, caused a commotion around the manse. Mr. and Mrs. Campbell and their son George were lured outside and lifted into a new buggy which elders of the church pulled around the lawn a couple of times, and then formally presented.

Later Campbell had a break-down in health but his congregation would not accept his resignation. Instead they gave him a six-month holiday and his clerical friends in the presbytery supplied. He went to Europe, returning just before Christmas. As the train bringing him back pulled into Cheltenham station, William Fraser, a Highlander and church manager, saluted with the bagpipes and played *The Campbells Are Coming*. A large delegation of the members from the minister's two appointments escorted him home.

When leaving, Campbell auctioned off some furniture and Henry purchased the minister's study chair. In amazement Mrs. Henry asked why, having too many already, he

bought another, but sentiment triumphed and the chair found a place of honour in the Henry home. Henry always used it and died sitting in it. His daughter Margaret now has it at her bed-side in Cheltenham, and the family feel about it as Eliza Cook did of its counterpart, when she wrote:

"I love it—I love it, and who shall dare
To chide me for loving that old Arm-chair?"



Courtesy Miss Margaret Henry

REV. J. L. CAMPBELL'S ARMCHAIR

Still making haste northward, and deserting the banks of the Credit, John strikes out across Caledon township and journeys to Caledon village. The Orange hall here seems to be the old building referred to in the minute books of 1863.

Two lodges worked in this community for many years—Hugh Brewster's old Silver Creek L.O.L. No. 185, which shifted its centre of gravity from Caldwell to

Caledon during John's lifetime, and the slightly younger but considerably stronger L.O.L. No. 250. Captain Edward Dawson transferred to the former from No. 249, soon after he opened his tavern in Caledon township, and belonged to it when county master in 1874. John Irvine Rutledge, whom John remembers as a cousin of Mrs. William Stubbs (Jennie Rutledge), was master of No. 250 when it took out its parchment warrant in 1847. Three Thomas Glassfords, two farmers, father and son, of Caledon township, and the third (1844-1933), a blacksmith at Caledon East, were members of L.O.L. No. 250. The older farmer and the blacksmith were cousins. Thomas Jr.'s brother, George, was also a member of L.O.L. No. 250, but Sherred, son of Thomas the blacksmith, was a member of L.O.L. No. 293, Caledon East. His father was doubtless the Thomas Glassford listed as district master of Albion in 1903.

These lodges worked side by side with no thought of union for a score or more of years, but in 1885 consolidation

projects appeared on the horizon. Finally, about 1893, when Thomas McCort was master, the brethren of No. 185 transferred to No. 250, which thus became a strong and permanent lodge. Warrant No. 185 was taken to Ballycroy, where William Stubbs, then at the commencement of his career as an independent Conservative politician, was anxious to work up a strong, compact body of Protestant opinion.

With the reinforcements from the old No. 185, No. 250 flourished in Caledon township and still has a group of staunch workers. Among these is E. E. Stubbs, representing the third generation of the Rutledge-Stubbs connection to work in L.O.L. No. 250. In 1936 Stubbs became master of Dufferin Orange county, and was appointed to a county committee to prepare resolutions dealing with the separate school and mixed marriage questions. He recalls with a smile the days when his grandfathers, John Stubbs and William Clarke, rode the same horse to and from lodge.

John spends a long time at Charleston not so much because it is district headquarters, but because he finds old minutes full of fascinating details that recall past days and livelier ways than those of the present. He sees, for instance, entries indicating trifling differences of opinion, which vary the even tenor of lodge as of family life. Among these are such items as:

"That Bro. J—— W—— do take tickets at door, and that Bro. A—— be money taker for the children. Bro. A—— refused to be money taker for the children."

"I have heard from a reliable source that Bro. T—— L—— on the last 12 July in walking with Mr. J—— C——, told him that there was a fine levied on him by this lodge for getting drunk on the last 12 of July, but he would see them damned before he would pay it, so i wish you to have the case investigated."

"The charge preferred against Brother J—— C—— is that he traded a brass watch with Brother W—— W—— for a silver one and he done it for the benefit of J—— E—— who is not an Orangeman."

In 1867 one man asked Caledon L.O.L. No. 250 for "assistance to obtain his certificate which was stolen from him about 6 years ago and when found by the officers of justice it was handed in Lodge No. 1 held at Brockville".

Constant early references to replacement of broken lamps and occasional repairs required by band instruments suggest nights not altogether devoid of revelry. Eventually

the dollar fine to be levied on "any Bro. being seen the worse for liquor" on the twelfth was supplemented by six months' suspension. Finally, in 1863 the Orangeville *Sun* announced the first annual soirée of *Temperance* L.O.L. No. 250.

The Orangemen of Caledon township do not seem always to have worked in perfect harmony with dissenting clergymen. On one occasion L.O.L. No. 250 sent a deputy, "To enquire of the Rev. Jn. Broley his reasons for refusing the Orangemen the use of the Wesleyan Chapel to hold the Soiree."

A twenty-four page poem in rhymed couplets, written and printed in 1858 by John Brown and Alexander Bell, and strongly flavoured with jealousy of the Church of England, tells how Orangemen of that district celebrated not by hearing sermons from these two divines, but by wine bibbing and gluttony in an hotel just south of Charleston. Satan is pictured as planning to seduce sober men and as making appetizing references to grog, brandy sling, and mutton chops, puddings, barbecues and soup, hams and bacon, fish, veal, and "well-dressed Shanghie capon", toddy, beer and whisky, gin and ale, porter and wine. Above all, the fiend is determined to,

" . . . thwart the innovasive plan,
Of preachers who would us harangue,
With sober sanctimonious face,
On points of doctrine and of grace;
Curs'd, rotten-hearted, base dissenters,
Two turn-coat, hypocritic ranters;
What common sense approves their babbling,
More than a band of tinkers gabbling.
Had Alton Lodge paid due respect
Unto the ways I did direct,
From some established Church would they
Have some Divine to preach that day;
A Lewis, or a great McGeorge,
Would do some credit to our orge."

According to the versifiers, Satan concealed himself under the scarlet cloak of the worshipful master of Alton lodge as it proceeded quietly and expeditiously to Charleston and thus escaped any "sermon, from these o'er zealous pious vermin". Instead of these godly dissenting clergymen, Satan delivered the oration. He spoke eloquently in honour of those who broke up town meetings, attacked reformers, and burned the Parliament Buildings in Montreal. Among the

heroes extolled was "illustrious Fergusson":

"Although of late some arrant fools
Led him astray 'bout separate schools.
At times a traitor though he be,
He never yet abandoned me."

Gowan was praised with even heavier sarcasm. Then the fiend turned to the condemnations. Tossing his horns in frenzy, he muttered something about Mackenzie, and the meeting broke up in confusion.

Such unseemly diatribes came to an end in that very year when Reverend Alexander McFaul came to Caledon and, refusing all offers of promotion, remained until his death in 1888. McFaul understood his fellow Orangemen thoroughly and was always a welcome speaker at their meetings—so much so that summaries of his sermons are often included in lodge minutes. On the occasion of a visit from Erin and other lodges, the parade halted in front of the manse where compliments and thanks were presented to the minister and his family. Often recognition took a more substantial form, members being taxed "for the purpose of rendering a token of gratitude".

John reads these tributes to the clergy with considerable satisfaction and only laughs at the tirades of less popular representatives of the cloth, although he is glad to learn from their verses of a new Orange lodge—to wit, Alton L.O.L. No. 770. The warrant for this was first taken out in 1856 by R. McClure, probably Robert McClure listed in a directory of 1857-8 as an Alton clothier. Charles Smith was master in 1866 and James Kayes two years later.

The lodge carried on successfully until about 1885, when it went dormant, but it reassembled and has apparently carried on continuously.

McFaul used to preach in the Alton Orange hall, which seated about fifty people. It was the oldest building in the village, a one-storey structure still in use.

A newspaper clipping records that in 1906, for the first time in a quarter of a century, Alton Orangemen celebrated the glorious twelfth at home. A general holiday was proclaimed. Streets were decorated with arches and flags, and there were speeches by W. S. Morphy, Charles Walker, and Samuel Charters. The last named, John is pleased to learn,

was mayor of Brampton in 1907, represented Peel in the Ontario legislature 1908-13, served as registrar of deeds for the county, and sat in Dominion parliament, 1917-35. In 1927 he was appointed chief whip of the Conservative party.

Since 1916 Alton has become ever more notable as an Orange centre. Its dramatic presentations draw audiences from all over the township. Its fife and drum band is well known in Brampton and other centres, although now the lodge is in Dufferin Orange county.

An amusing anecdote from this community is pleasingly indicative of the forgiving disposition of Orangemen. It reads almost like a fairy-tale. In pioneer days an Alton Roman Catholic complained that he was dead broke, with a wife and children starving. No one would help him, he said; even prayer had failed.

"Well," said his addressee, an Orangeman named Waters, "why don't you write to God?"

The idea seemed good, so the grumbler wrote, "Dear Lord—me and the missus and children are starving. I am among a bunch of freethinkers and Orangemen. I pray you to send me \$50.00, so I can get something to eat and get away from here."

He gave Waters the letter to send off. Waters stuck it in his pocket and brought it up at next meeting of the Derry West District Orange Lodge. The Orangemen frowned a little, laughed a little, and finally voted twenty-five dollars, which they made up by passing round the hat. This they sent in a parcel to the hard-up Roman Catholic, who received it with a suspicious look.

"Did you deliver my letter?" he asked Waters.

"Yes," said Waters, "I delivered your letter and here is \$25.00."

"Gosh," he said, "I asked for fifty. God wouldn't hold out on me like that. The damned Orangemen must have kept back twenty-five."

John, smiling over the story, hurries on past picturesque Melville Cross where there were always Orange sympathizers, but no lodge as far as he remembers. There were James Maxwell from Derry Hill (Derryoughill?), County Armagh, and his wife, Deborah Loughheed, aunt of another

more notable Orangeman, Sir James Lougheed. Allen Maxwell, a son of James, was also an acquaintance of John Rutledge's, although a much younger man. The William Delaney of County Armagh who married Ann Stubbs, aunt of Wm. and Samuel Stubbs, was another early resident, and Ann's nephews moved to the hamlet during the seventies and eighties.

Such men must have wanted lodge life, and it looks as though Brewster's old lodge, No. 185, may have moved from Silver Creek to Melville for a few years before ending its career in Charleston. Family tradition has it that John Stubbs was its master for some years while it met in the northern part of the township.

The first warrant definitely registered for Melville Cross in Grand Lodge records, however, is No. 466, taken out in 1904. This had been the property of Fish Creek lodge, Prospect Hill, but had apparently been dormant for some time. During its Melville incarnation, David Armstrong of Orangeville was first master. He was succeeded in turn by J. W. Stockdale, William Stubbs, and James Johnston, all of Melville Cross, where the lodge still met in 1920. An old house at the cross-roads was bought soon after the lodge was formed and used as a hall. There has been no report of recent years.

John wonders where the good Orangemen of that community attended lodge in the eighties and nineties, when other whereabouts are definitely indicated for No. 185, and No. 466 had not yet arrived. He decides that they must have been connected with Purple Hill No. 84 which met in Clark's Hall one mile east of Orangeville. Thomas Clarke is said to have taken out the charter or warrant some years after the lodge had been at work. In 1866, however, Doupe registers Samuel Hull or Hall as having received it on 13th February, 1848. Other officers in the early fifties included Thomas Martin and Daniel McCanna; in the seventies, Andrew Hughson, James Fraine, and Thomas Clarke, who is said to have taken out a new charter or warrant, perhaps in the fifties. Although a number of officers of this lodge have given Orangeville as their address, it has evidently never been regarded as belonging to the town, for a note in the *Banner* of the sixties telling what various local lodges were

doing, does not mention it.

Within the actual bounds of Orangeville, the ghostly visitant finds a small but active group holding its own in a fine hall built in 1868. This warrant is recent—bearing No. 2931—but the Society gathers within itself a multifarious tradition.

Among lodges associated with this centre during the past half century, John finds references to the very old No. 22, which must have originated in 1830, and of which Joseph Hunter was master in 1846. This seems to have been in existence as late as 1888, according to a directory of that year, but must have suffered an interval of dormancy in the sixties.

At any rate, Nos. 635 and 427 represented the "Orangemen of Orangeville" at the 5th November celebrations in 1868. According to the *Orangeville Sun*, the former attended divine service at Bethel church and the latter met at its lodge rooms. John remembers that E. Lawson took out a parchment warrant for No. 427 in 1847, but believes the nucleus of the lodge was gathered a year or two earlier. No. 635, a few years younger, received its warrant in 1855. Aaron L. O.L. No. 427 met near the west end of Orangeville in a hall, now a dwelling-house. L.O.L. No. 635 met in the hall now used by No. 2931.

In the seventies, T. H. Stevens of Orangeville was deputy master of L.O.L. No. 635, and William Porter of the same lodge handed in a subscription to the testimonial to Brother Mackenzie Bowell. Around the turn of the century, Deputy Master A. J. Hunter, M.D., eventually Deputy Grand Chaplain, represented L.O.L. No. 427, Orangeville, at Grand Lodge. He served as master of Dufferin Orange county in 1901. Reverend A. E. de St. Dalmas, also of No. 427, was Deputy Grand Chaplain in 1916.

John Rutledge reads with considerable interest a clipping giving an account of the historical address by Mayor Parkinson of Orangeville to his fellow Orangemen of L.O.L. No. 2931 in March, 1936, and finds many items, new to him, that provide food for thought. He would fain wander on into the alluring bypaths of Dufferin Orange county, but his time is limited. He realizes that he dare go no farther

tonight, and turns south-eastward again along the county line.



CHAPTER XVII

THE HOMEWARD JOURNEY

*From street to street we marched away, all dress'd in orange and purple gay,
Two thousand and ten were the number of men who joined in procession on that happy
day;*

*But women and children linked to the brethren, far and near came to see them in town,
Who alone, if permitted, were more than sufficient to put every rebel and Ribbonman
down.*

*Awake! Awake!
You Protestant Boys,
In the cause of your forefathers conquer or die;
In memory of William,
We yearly assemble,
And join in procession each twelfth of July.*

AT MONO MILLS, John Rutledge lingers recalling the past of one of Peel's oldest lodges, which, as he still remembers, the great Ogle R. Gowan himself opened in June, 1835. Many names on the Mono Mills records are familiar—George Fleming, the first master, John Shannon, the first deputy master, on whose farm-stead Shannon's school was built in eastern Caledon, John Brown, secretary, who lived just below Shannon, and Patrick Koyle or Kyle, treasurer, who shared Brown's lot. W. Ballantine, who took out the parchment warrant in 1845, was also one of John's old acquaintances, as was John Wilson of Caledon, master, 1846-50. Mostly Caledon men they seem to have been, who started Mono Mills lodge, and John could not but have met them from time to time when he visited the inn of William Stubbs, his kinsman by marriage.

There seems to have been a little trouble here in 1845, when George Fleming was unjustly expelled and district lodge decided that,

"They must get their number and be regularly initiated into the association again, and then Brother Fleming come forward and give general satisfaction to the brethren of sd lodge and if not let them return him over to the district."

Later Albion men got control of the Society. Alexander Stinson, representative at county lodge in 1851, and James Patterson, master in the late sixties and early seventies, were strong characters. Another member was Reverend Richard Cleary, a man of very prepossessing manner, thoroughly cosmopolitan, a native of the Channel islands and educated in

France and northern Ireland. Eventually he took charge of the Church of England in Rome. Cleary had great initiative and a keen sense of humour. He adapted himself amazingly to the semi-pioneer conditions on the Caledon East parish. It is said that on the steepest hills of Caledon and Albion he used to unhitch his horse and let his buggy run down backwards while he and the animal followed at a more sedate pace. Cleary, an enthusiastic Orangeman, was Deputy Grand Chaplain in 1869. When Thomas McCandless was initiated, 1892, the lodge had only a dozen members, but within two or three years, because of political conditions, enrolment had risen to sixty.

Mono Mills was an Orange headquarters in the days of Stinson, Patterson, and Cleary. John Woon Nicholls, a veteran of today, recalls with zest the time when at least four lodges gathered in the old capital of Cardwell to celebrate 12th July and 5th November. Cobean's lodge came down from near Connor in Adjala township, the Newall's Mill lodge drove in from the Mono-Adjala town line, the Hockley men were on hand and so were the Connaught Rangers No. 259, now the Mono Britons, which met on the second line of Mono but used to pay dues through Peel.

In county minute-books No. 259 appears as early as 1847. It was a vigorous going concern in 1866, when Doupe noted its hall on lot 2, concession 4, Mono township. Masters during the sixties, seventies, and eighties included several well-known brethren. In addition to Abraham Martin, J.P., whose son was a reporter on the old *Leader*, there were Lieutenant John McBrien and Robert Shields of Mono township whose mail came to Mono Mills, and Thomas Holmes who lived on the county line and gave his address at times as Mono Mills and again as Orangeville. This is today an active lodge.

No. 192 is also prosperous. The first hall, according to Thomas McCandless, was of logs, built eighteen feet by twenty-five, with four windows. It was on the Peel side of the county line and was used for a store after the new hall was built. About 1905 it disappeared. The phantom is interested in seeing that this old hall of his day has been replaced by a fine, new, rough-cast structure, tenders for which were invited on 12th November, 1868. The Loyal

True Blue Lodge is to him a new departure, but he is happy to learn about it and to note that it is flourishing. He is also pleased with the record of a banquet given at Mono Mills in 1925 by members of the King Hiram Preceptory No. 297 of Royal Black Knights.

Thomas Martin, also of Mono, was one of the earliest officials of Enniskillen L.O.L. No. 260, founded about 1850 in the same district. By 1866, Doupe says it met in Mono Mills. Possibly it shared a hall with No. 192. John Patterson of Mono Mills, who later transferred to No. 192, was an early master; Alexander Henry and Thomas Babe also occupied the chair in their turn.

In the late seventies this warrant moved. Lists show a membership drawn largely from Mount Wolfe, Hunsdon, Tottenham, and occasionally from Palgrave as well. It is in this direction that John Rutledge next proceeds in his tour of the county.

Going eastward he passes through Ballycroy, that tough little Irish settlement on the county line. Like many whilom Peel lodges, Ballycroy L.O.L. No. 185 is now a part of Dufferin Orange county, but old members still feel their debt to Peel for organization. To this end William Stubbs brought the discarded warrant of Silver Creek L.O.L. No. 185, and some of his old Orange friends now became also his political supporters. John Shore, Isaac Matson, Alexander Walker, district master of Albion in 1898, Tom McCort, Samuel Patterson, and others, got up a big supper at Cobean's hotel, Ballycroy, and afterwards organized the new lodge.

According to Miller Hamilton, a charter member, there were only fifteen or sixteen admitted at the organization meeting. The lodge grew to upwards of forty during the stirring political times that followed, although since then it has fallen to little more than a baker's dozen.

Ballycroy was the recognized Protestant-Romanist fighting ground in those fire-eating days and many bitter battles were fought between resident Protestants and Catholics. On lodge nights the brethren assembled at McClelland's store and proceeded together to their lodge room—the old Episcopal Methodist church down in the valley. In this way they escaped the unwelcome attentions of Inn-keeper Fealey

who led the "Papist toughs" in intercepting any lone Orangeman, and thus made their way safely past the liquor store and hotel kept by Ambrose Small's uncle, Peter. One winter the district master visited Ballycroy, and, unaware of the usual Orange rendezvous, proceeded with two friends directly to the old church. The road led through a cutting and his companions were quite nervous, but he pooh-poohed their qualms. He found the building warm but empty, and returning to the cutter, saw that it had been turned around, and decided that discretion was the better part of valour. Six or eight of the Fealey gang were in ambush for him, but he managed to out-distance them, hitched up his horse, reached the store in safety, and was escorted back to the lodge by the entire body of embattled Orangemen.

"Those were the days," John Rutledge thinks as he turns from the weather-beaten Ballycroy hall and hurries on to Black Horse where personal memories assure him the Orange spirit is too strong to have been dimmed by the passing years. Well does he remember the first Orange lodge, under the mastership of Thomas Wolfe, which met, as John remembers its beginnings, in a private house near the tavern. By 1855 James Lipsett, whose brother Lewis's name also appeared often on the list of officers, was master. Others occasionally "spelled Lipsett off" as master, including R. W. and W. B. Lowery, Henry F. McCabe, and, in 1870 and 1871, William Bryan. Other Bryans who held office were John, Thomas, and Robert. McCabe's father, John, was an organizer of the lodge, and his sons, John, Anson, and Ralph, were active members. Ralph held office in the lodge and his two older brothers served as master and district master, and were also connected with the Scarlet Chapter and the Royal Black Preceptory at Palgrave. James, brother of John, Sr., was also a Black Horse Orangeman.

Soon after organization, meetings were held in a little log lodge hall at Sandy Hollow on the tenth line about a mile south of the present building. In 1856 a new frame hall, eighteen feet by twenty-two, was planned, evidently to be built on the old site, but whether or not the scheme was carried through is uncertain. It looks as though it might have been for new fittings were required. In March, 1857, a window-frame and glass were obtained and in December a

stove.

Members of this lodge sought temperance, but in moderation. On 10th March, 1859, they passed a resolution as follows:

"There shall be no liker allowed in this lodge for one year from this date."

"Their shall be three glases of grog each night one be four the lodge opens and two after lodge closes . . . William Elliot shall be Grog dealer . . . John McLoughlin shall be teetotler Master."

In 1862 an even more severe "By Law Against Smoking" was passed, to the effect that only one smoke be allowed during the time the lodge is sitting; also a resolution to the effect that no whisky be allowed in the lodge during this year. A year later it was resolved that each member shall receive two glasses of whisky each night the lodge meets, but that any member being absent when the lodge is opening shall receive but one; also that John Bryan act as grog-boss.

Members of this lodge may have found some compensation for their self-control regarding liquor and tobacco in the free dinner which was supplied from lodge funds on 5th November.

The Orangemen of this district were keen to maintain their position in 12th July parades, then lined up according to warrant numbers. For a score of years Black Horse, carrying warrant No. 613, marched ahead of Cedar Mills with its warrant No. 807. Defection of George Robb, John Shore, and John Rowley, former officers of No. 613, to the new No. 807, may have intensified the rivalry. Accordingly, in 1870, when Cedar Mills acquired Bolton's old warrant No. 455, and moved up ahead of Black Horse in parades, there was much wailing and gnashing of teeth.

To James Lipsett goes the credit for finding a way out. L.O.L. No. 260 at Mono Mills was practically dormant. Its Grand Lodge dues were away behind, its membership reduced to a handful. On 13th March, 1874, Lipsett and some of his friends were admitted by certificate from L.O.L. No. 613 to this practically dormant lodge. Lipsett was elected worshipful master; Thomas Prest, deputy; W. S. Fry, secretary; James Brown, treasurer; and William Elliott, senior committee-man. It was moved, seconded, and carried that L.O.L. No. 260 be taken from Mono Mills to lot 24, conces-

sion 10, Albion. Here, four days later, seven more members transferred, including three Wolfes, John Bryan, Jr., and Lewis Lipsett. By 18th May, 1875, the turnover was complete.

Black Horse Orangemen gave convincing proof of their right to their new warrant when they informed the district master that No. 260 was again in good working order and asked for a statement of arrears. It was worth paying a few back dues to pass Cedar Mills again, and James Lipsett chuckled for years about the way in which they had worsted their rivals.

In the delight attending the success of this coup, Enniskillen No. 260 was ready for further advances. On 15th June, 1875 it contributed five dollars towards helping Bolton L.O.L. No. 146 pay for a lodge room. In 1876 it sent five dollars, presumably for the same purpose, to the Orange Young Britons of Schomberg. Finally, on 5th April, 1879, it made plans for a new building of its own, agreeing,

"That this Lodge do join with the Blue Ribbon Society to raise a building for the use of both Societies if the two parties can agree on the site and conditions and the building to be deeded to the Orange Society . . . the Hall be built as near as possible to Church Hill as ground can get . . ."

There seems to have been no difficulty with the Blue Ribbon Society—naturally enough, as the two organizations were almost identical in membership, and the trustees of the temperance organization were John McCabe, William Lipsett, William Fry, and John Brown, all faithful Orangemen. On 5th November the new lodge room was formally opened with a "tea-party and concert". A visiting brother in 1909 describes this as being "a splendid hall with good stabling and a large membership drawn from Albion and Adjala [and likely Tecumseh] townships". The site for the hall had evidently been donated by a member, and it was not until some months after the formal opening that the brethren bethought themselves to secure a lease of the land. This was finally arranged, "for the term of 99 years for the yearly rent of .25 cents". In 1881 the old hall was presented to William Elliott, on whose property it had been built.

In 1884, William Brown, worshipful master for some years, was replaced by James Brown, of whom an amusing

anecdote is told. In the days when Orangeism was flourishing, the boys of the community were very anxious to join, and if they were big enough they often got in long before the regulation age. Lorne Lipsett joined when seventeen, and Anson McCabe at fifteen. In taking the oath, a prospective Orangeman is obliged to swear that he is not under eighteen, but Anson had not realized this and when he came to that phrase he stopped short. Brown was Anson's Sunday-school superintendent, and guessing his difficulty passed on, with a bland smile, to the next part of the oath. This tactful diplomat was succeeded, for several years beginning in 1890, by Alexander Walker.

It has been suggested sometimes that this lodge might economically unite with Palgrave, but the old rivalry seems not to have been forgotten and more than one of the Enniskillen Orangemen has been heard to declare that he "would rather go all the way over to Mono Mills".

After the Black Horse lodge surrendered warrant No. 613 this was taken up by a Toronto lodge organized on 30th April, 1877, and named in honour of Hillyard Cameron. Robert Birmingham, son-in-law of Cameron's friend, campaign organizer and Grand Secretary, was its first master; D. Bowes, late district master of Montreal, was first treasurer, and J. B. Fleming, Birmingham's brother-in-law, was first secretary.

Not far south of Enniskillen, at Palgrave, John Rutledge comes upon a lodge representing a long Orange tradition. The surviving members of two or three defunct lodges have turned in their papers here.

Among these was Victoria L.O.L. No. 148 which first met at Castlemore. William Carfoot, as master, represented it at county lodge in 1834. William Hassard took out its parchment warrant in 1845, and Carfoots, Parrs, Fullertons, McIlroys or McElroys, and McCombs, kept it going until the early fifties.

In 1855, James Harkins became worshipful master, holding office for three years. His appointment may coincide with a move northward. When Albion district was "divided into 3 sections for funeral purposes", No. 148 was grouped with two Bolton lodges and Black Horse, rather

than with Tullamore. For some years after Harkins's retirement, James Shaw and David Loughheed alternated as masters, and representatives to Grand Lodge included William Strachan and William Sparrow of Albion and Macville.

Certainly by 1866, it is confirmed by the Doupe directory that Macville was the place of meeting. Robert Henry Booth, proprietor of Macville inn and future Fenian Raid veteran, who, in 1854, 1856-7, and 1859-61, headed up L.O.L. No. 455, doubtless joined No. 148 soon after it moved to his neighbourhood and in 1862 and 1863 represented it at Provincial Grand Lodge with the rank of past master.

Macville did not long enjoy its new activity. Reverend Hiram Hull remembers the hall being torn down in his boyhood, and says that no meetings were held there after 1876. The records found give indications of lively times in the past, however, as when an old 12th July torpedo exploded and startled the wreckers at their work.

Macville lodge lost members to Cedar Mills, a few miles north, and suffered a temporary dormancy. About 1880 came a spontaneous resurrection in northern Albion, near Crawford's church. A list of old members, placed at the head of the new minute-book, includes William and John James Sparrow of Macville, Alexander Muncy of the same district, and John Welwood who had moved from Macville in 1875 to the Mono Mills neighbourhood. Four of John Welwood's sons were in uniform during the war; his youngest, W. J., was killed at Passchendaele. The presence of these Macville names on the north Albion minute-book suggests that the warrant had never been surrendered to Grand Lodge, but had, perhaps, followed the drift of some of its members northward.

In 1881, John Irwin was sent to represent the reorganized society at Grand Lodge. Robert McMullen, worshipful master, was its representative seven years later, and Robert's father, John, and brother, John James, were two of the many McMullens who have been Orangemen. Indeed, meetings were held for some years at least, in McMullen's home on lot 30, concession 3, Albion.

It may well have been in this lodge that the famous Squier family of Albion found its Orange home. John

Squier, a brother of that Tom whose battle with young Isaac Taylor almost broke up the township, conducted his less famous duel on the twelfth, and it is said that religious dissension was as significant a factor as amatory rivalry. At any rate the family, as noted by a famous descendant, Sir Frederick Banting, used always to be zealous Orangemen.

The north Albion phase was even shorter than the Macville and Castlemore chapters in the life of No. 148. On 17th July, 1888, a meeting was held "for the purpose of continuing on this Lodge or winding up the business". Members decided to "leave their certificates" and the warrant went to Cedar Mills lodge which had been in search of an earlier warrant number ever since the Black Horse Orangemen had acquired No. 260. In April, 1889, Thomas H. Stinson, representative of a family which is said temporarily to have given its name to the lodge, turned his certificate in at the new No. 148 in Cedar Mills. Others who transferred then or later included William Stinson, William St. John, George Dale, and Wellington B. "Willowby".

The pulsating Cedar Mills lodge with which the fate of No. 148 was now merged, had started long before as No. 807, meeting at lot 20 on the 8th line, a mile or so east of Cedar Mills. Simon Proctor of lot 23, concession 6, Albion, took out the warrant in 1857, and George Robb was master in the sixties. In 1870, as already noted, the lodge assumed warrant No. 455, previously borne by a Bolton lodge, and three years later No. 807 was passed on to a Norfolk lodge that had formerly been No. 1162. When warrant No. 455 was in its turn discarded by Cedar Mills, it was taken over, in 1891, by Maple Leaf lodge, Toronto, one of the earliest members of which was William Fitzgerald, for many years Grand Secretary of Ontario West, and long since youthful founder of the True Blues.

Throughout these early days, the Robbs were among the strongest supporters of the lodge. Samuel had come from Ireland in 1824, walked along the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario from Montreal to Niagara, worked for three years on the Welland canal, and finally settled in Albion. He had been an Orangeman, and his sons, Samuel and Robert, followed his example. John and George, sons of James Robb, and cousins of Samuel and Robert, were also



Courtesy Dan Henderson

BOLTON L.O.L. No. 146

Back row: *Jas. Candy, Edward Corliss, Jas. Wilson, Hy. Wilson, Richard Maltby, Wm. Caldwell, Sandy Urquhart, Wilson Gallagher, Wm. Dowzer, Wm. Gallagher, Dan Henderson, Harry Stanley, John Arthur, Wesley Strong, Geo. Beamish, Ernest Beamish;*
front row: *Hugh Gallagher, Wm. Mortimore, Wm. James, Jos. Swinarton, Sam Shore, Frederick Harper, Wm. Corliss, Benjamin Beamish, Robt. Alexander, Samuel Egan, Francis Beamish.*



Courtesy Robert Shaw

TULLAMORE L.O.L. No. 61

Back row: ———, *John Carberry, Wm. Carberry, Robt. Shaw Sr., Hy. Strong, Jos. Hall, Irwin Little Jr., Robt. Shaw Jr., Ed. Carberry, David Craig Sr., Sam Cook;* middle row: ———, *Jos. Loughheed, Hy. Parr, Geo. Fleming, Wilson Fleming, Thos. Burrell, Fred Fleming, Thos. Smith;* front row: ———, *Sandy Carberry, John H. Fleming, ———, ———, Geo. Strong, Jas. Carberry, Irwin Little Sr.*



Courtesy Thos. McCandless

MONO MILLS L.O.L. No. 192

Standing: Jos. Ward, D. Zimmerman, Jas. Jeffers, Jas. McKinney, ———, Wm. Duke (Mono twp.), Hugh McKenna, Chas. Willoughby, ———, John Adair, Neil Campbell, Robt. Lavery, ———, Wilson Duke, Geo. Atkinson, Wm. Pullford, Thos. McCandless, John McCutcheon, Richard McCandless, Thos. Kidd, Wesley McKinney, John Ward, Thos. Rawn, Geo. Faulkner, ———, Hillborn Donaldson, John Rawn, Wm. Donaldson; sitting: Wm. Duke (Caledon twp.), Wm. McKenna, Jas. McKenna, Richard Lyness, Robt. McCutcheon, Jos. Lyness, Geo. Harkies, John Fagin, Geo. Fagin.



Courtesy R. J. Lavery

ENNISKILLEN L.O.L. No. 260

Back row: ———, John Lipsett, John McCabe, Wilfred Walker, Jas. Lipsett, Wm. Duffy, Lorne Lipsett, Robt. J. Lavery, Samuel Prest, Frank Gibbons, Geo. Lipsett, John Pettinger, Ralph McCabe, Wm. Wilson, John P. Wilson, ———, Alex. Walker, John Agnew, Fred Potter; middle row: Melvin Courtney, Tom Argent, Anson McCabe; front row: Jonathan Atkinson, Harry Jennings, Walter Potter, John Wilson, Wm. Bryan.

Orangemen.

The Orange hall was a little frame building on a corner of Robert's farm. It served as a valuable community centre. Dances were held there to raise money for the lodge or for other purposes. It was also the first schoolhouse in the vicinity, and the children used later to make their way into it through one or other of several entrances, the locks of which were always going out of order. They had a vague idea of discovering what went on behind those darkened windows on lodge night, and were always disappointed to find the regalia, etc., locked up in large chests.

Samuel Robb, who moved to Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, has many reminiscences of the mastership of Francis McCauley. Two Francis McCauleys, father and son, whose dates of birth and death are respectively 1824-1916 and 1843-92, were members of several lodges in which they held office. A Francis McCauley was county master in 1865, master of No. 427, Orangeville, in 1867, secretary of Mono Road L.O.L. No. 63 in 1881, secretary of Cedar Mills L.O.L. No. 455 in 1883, and master, 1886-8 and 1892. The son's funeral is described by Mrs. Maisie Thompson of Palgrave,

"His was the first funeral conducted entirely by Orangemen in this community, and resembled somewhat the present-day 12th July parade as seen in some of the smaller towns. Members from every lodge, with few exceptions in the County, were present to pay their last respects. The Orangemen walked in procession the entire distance from Cedar Mills to Palgrave Church of England where the service was conducted. This service together with the music of the bands was very impressive, particularly to those in early life who were only learning what the Orange Order really stood for."

John Shore, another ardent Orangeman of Cedar Mills who rendered yeoman service to the Order, was just over thirty when John Rutledge died. A descendant of that distinguished Shore family from which sprang Florence Nightingale, John of Albion was a notable figure. For some years he was director of ceremonies, and it was his chief delight to mount a grey heavy draught-horse and lead parades. In 1892, when lodge interest was at its height, the minute-books record that a new banner (with the warrant number acquired the previous year) was purchased for ninety dollars, "also a new gown for Mr. Shore at quite a figure".

Warrant No. 148 seems to have been ill-starred, how-

ever, and soon after its adoption the lodge began the seemingly inevitable accompanying peregrinations. A quaint old parchment-bound minute-book gives details of these. In 1894 it was decided to move to Palgrave and meet in the Church of England hall which was for rent at \$8.00 per year, taking "such things from the Lodge as necessary". The old hall was to be rented to some unspecified organization, perhaps the school-board, for \$4.00 a year including use of stove and table, the lodge paying insurance. Within a year there was dissatisfaction, and soon John Rolley, master before the move and again afterwards, had taken the necessary lodge material back to the old hall, leaving a minority of men, chiefly younger, to constitute the nucleus of a new lodge in Palgrave. The division was conducted with remarkably good feeling and the reader, learning from the minutes that, in mid-meeting, master and recording secretary had to be relieved of their duties because they "could not act for want of glasses", is constrained to wonder about the nature of the glasses involved. It is noteworthy, also, that the first set of officers remained in office only two weeks and that some of the early magnificently generous financial arrangements were afterwards cancelled.

The split is said to have been stimulated by the political situation. Colour is lent to this contention by the fact that Wellington Willoughby was elected lecturer of No. 148 in December, 1895, just at the time of the famous Manitoba schools by-election in Cardwell. On the other hand, of the thirty-five members who started Palgrave No. 288 early in 1896 with Robert Matson as master and William Lavery as deputy, all are said to have supported Willoughby's opponent, Stubbs.

It is said that Isaac Matson, one of the stand-patters of Cedar Mills, was most indignant at his sons, Robert and Henry, for helping to start the new lodge. Eventually, however, after time had softened political differences, he and his brothers, John, Robert, and David, joined at Palgrave.

Jeremiah Taylor, Dr. A. F. Reynar's father-in-law, was another Orangeman, a member at Cedar Mills before Palgrave had a lodge of its own, and Reynar is an honorary life member. Roy M. Lavery also belongs to the Palgrave lodge, as does his father, R. J. Lavery, who joined Enniskillen No.

260 fifty-five years ago.

The warrant No. 288 had been first assigned to a lodge opened in Kincardine in 1840, but after forty-four years this lodge closed. The warrant was reissued in the following year to Lambton which apparently was unable to maintain a quorum. It was again surrendered, just in time to serve for the new Palgrave.

In other ways, too, the young offshoot of No. 148 was lucky. It secured quarters in the Methodist hall which was very comfortable and attractive even though it was built, as was the custom in those days, above a shed where horses were stabled during church services. Most important of all, in less than a dozen years it received an important influx of new members when the parent society was dissolved.

By 1905, the old Cedar Mills lodge was in dire straits, and on 4th July decided that any members who had supplied goods or property could buy these back before the next meeting and come on 15th July prepared to receive their certificates. John Verner was instructed to send for eight of these, which suggests that the membership had been greatly reduced. Verner, recently elected master, was among those who took out certificates.

For some inexplicable reason a revival was staged within a couple of weeks. A meeting was called by John McCabe, district master, and, until 22nd May of the following year, the lodge struggled on somehow under John Rolley, master, William Shore, deputy master, Ernest Argent, chaplain, John Shore, treasurer, James Barry, director of ceremonies, George Barry, first committee-man, James S. Bible, secretary. On that date "L.O.L. No. 148 finally closed at Cedar Mills".

The old hall was deserted at last and soon disappeared altogether. The lumber was taken to Palgrave and used in the construction of a neat, new building, which the Palgrave lodge now shares with Jasper Royal Black Preceptory No. 403, organized in 1899 under Robert Matson, who, three years later, was succeeded by his brother Harry. The latter still smacks his lips as he recalls the savoury oyster suppers which used to follow preceptory meetings during the winter months—no unnecessary comfort when it is considered that men drove in sleighs from all parts of the township. In

1922-4 and 1934-6 Roy Lavery was worshipful preceptor.

The fine new hall was dedicated on 26th November, 1907; an addition was built in 1914 providing a cellar kitchen, an ante-room, a sitting-room, and lockers for both Orange and Black paraphernalia. Shortly after electricity reached the village in 1927, lighting was installed.

Soon after the Orange Lodge was instituted in Palgrave a public festival was arranged to raise funds. It took the form of a fowl supper and concert. This was considered a very big affair in those days of oil lamps and horse carriages. Guest speakers were N. Clarke Wallace, Dr. Beattie Nesbitt, Reverend A. P. Latter, and others. A huge torch-light procession met the evening train, and the guest of honour, Honourable N. Clarke Wallace, carried from the train in an arm-chair on the shoulders of four leading lodge members, was placed in a carriage drawn by two white horses. Then the procession, headed by the band, passed down the one street to the supper hall.

The only embarrassing moment was when a very tall hat was accidentally knocked off the head of the guest speaker while he was being transferred from the chair to the carriage. It was trampled beneath the horses' feet—little short of tragedy, as a member of parliament was positively not respectable in public without his topper. Dr. Nesbitt generously offered his, as he was really only second in import-

ance, but, being much too large, it dropped down over Wallace's ears, and presented a sorry spectacle. Later in the evening a wedding hat belonging to some very old gentleman was borrowed and thus the dignity of the M.P. was preserved. It is said that when the hat was returned to the old gentleman a ten dollar bill



was folded inside the band.

It is worthy of note, in post-war days, that twenty-three of the sixty Palgrave Orangemen were on the roll of honour.

From Cedar Mills, his last port of call in Palgrave vicinity, John Rutledge hurries across a crooked side-road, past Helltown, where the Centreville Roman Catholics in the old days had many an encounter with the Cedar Mills Orangemen, and on to Caledon East on the township border, where he examines the minute-books in a small lodge hall.

The lodge here, No. 293, is not supposed to have been founded until 1856 when Samuel Leslie was master, and John cannot at first understand this, in view of the lodge's liveliness during the forties, when it paraded regularly with the even older Tullamore L.O.L. No. 61. Half a dozen others, he notices, also trace their history back only to the middle fifties. He cannot remember a completely new set of warrants being issued then, yet why else, he wonders, would lodges which have failed to preserve their minute-books attribute their origin only to this recent date? Then comes an inspiration. "These must have been Benjamin lodges which turned in their warrants during the split, and had to take out new ones at the time of the reconciliation."

At any rate, John recalls Orangemen just north of Caledon East during his own lifetime. He well remembers back in 1840 the formation around Sleswick of the little new lodge, No. 293. It was, as he recalls, an offshoot of Mono Mills L.O.L. No. 192. John Shannon, former deputy master, John Brown, former secretary, and John Evans, former committee-man, of the older lodge, were among the moving spirits in the new, along with Brown's kinsmen by marriage, James and Matthew Cairns (Kearns), John Wiley, and their close neighbours. Evans took out the earliest warrant in 1841, remaining master until 1846, when Brown succeeded him. The latter held office until 1853.

John Evans was a brother of the better known George Evans of L.O.L. No. 146, Bolton, and one of his sons was that "Fighting" Bob Evans who was present in 1888 when Robert White won the Conservative nomination in Cardwell from Billy Stubbs. His grandsons played an important part in the history of L.O.L. No. 293. John acted as master, 1933, Thomas Richard, 1907-8, and George A., 1931. Thomas Richard was also district master of Albion, 1911-15, and county master, 1913-14, while George A. served as deputy district master in 1930 and has an overseas record. The stal-

wart grandfather served at one time as County Grand Treasurer, although he never seems to have reached Grand Lodge.

The shake-up of the fifties did not interfere with the progress of No. 293, which flourished under the successive masterships of Samuel Leslie and John Bible. It is still prosperous. A fascinating clipping tells of the celebration of the Albion district and visiting brethren here in 1905. Evergreen arches were exceptionally high and elaborate. Refreshments were served by church organizations in marquees set up for the occasion. A special train was run from Toronto and there were also visiting brethren from Caledon township and Dufferin and Simcoe counties. Thirty-two lodges in all were represented and were marshalled by four officials on grey horses, the walk being headed by J. J. Mahaffy, then of Streetsville, on a majestic white steed.

John wishes that he knew more about the Loyal True Blue lodges of which there now seem to be several in his county and he reads with interest references to No. 404, organized here about April, 1922, and seen in a Brampton parade about 1932.

At Mono Road, a few miles south of Caledon East, the Orange lodge seems to have laid its foundation in 1831, as the Chinguacousy Loyal Orange Benevolent Association, of which the banner is still housed in the lodge rooms.

Between the county meetings of February, 1847, and February, 1848, warrant No. 63 was granted to Mono Road, possibly an old warrant which had been dormant and was now given out afresh, or possibly the parchment renewal of a warrant granted in Peel prior to the Rebellion but never yet used because of untoward chances. The first officers under the new warrant were Robert Scott of Sandhill, master, and Robert Shields. Meetings were held at first on Scott's farm, lot 30, concession 4 east, Chinguacousy, but the centre of interest soon shifted southward in order to avoid competition with the well established lodge at Caledon East. Shields succeeded Scott as master and was in turn succeeded by John Hewitt, John Fleming, Thomas Rutherford and others.

An amusing entry in lodge minutes is quoted by the *Toronto Telegram* to the effect that by resolution of 1868

"certain beverages were to be excluded from the general meetings of the lodge, but that they might be brought to special meetings", among which Royal Arch nights were doubtless memorable.

In the early seventies Mono Road L.O.L. No. 63 built the hall still in use. It may have been first used as a general purpose building, for the Peel *Banner* of 9th July, 1874, noted that the members of L.O.L. No. 63 had given "a soirée on Dominion Day in Mr. Shore's hall, Mono Road". If the hall was first built by a loyal Orange brother as a private venture, and later taken over by the lodge, this would explain discrepancies in dates as given by various old-timers.

Doctor James Graham Alexander is a recent officer of this lodge. His father came from Newtown Stewart, Ireland, and his mother was Mary Irvin. A son, William Alexander, is a member of the executive of the Peel-Halton Old Boys' Association of Regina.

John Rutledge's thoughts are full of memories of old friends as he speeds on to Sandhill which, like so many of the spots he has visited, he recalls as the scene of a flourishing Orange lodge. He remembers its first master, Henry Francis, who, in 1824, settled on lot 10, concession 2, Albion. This lodge was the home of the Hannas, whose story is told elsewhere in this volume, and of such stalwart Orangemen as William Atchison (Acheson), Matthew Robinson, William Rutherford, Thomas Elliott, and others.

Here, as at Mono Road, John is surprised to find that the brethren trace their history back only to 1854, when their lodge room was a log hall on William Rutherford's farm, lot 11, concession 1, Albion. He remembers seeing Francis at County Lodge in 1835, and knows that William Hanna was outstanding in district affairs from the early forties. The spirit is pleased to see the fine little hall built in 1883, and to hear that it was dedicated by Clarke Wallace after a beautiful torch-light procession and a grand supper.

Sandhill seems to have been a sort of centre for Albion district. The Albion Scarlet Chapter was organized here on 14th November, 1855. William Hanna was district master of that order and remained worshipful commander for some years, the chapter maintaining a very fair membership

throughout. It was here also, in 1933, that the Albion District L.O.L. framed its protest to Premier Henry and Brigadier-General the Honourable T. L. Kennedy, M.L.A. for Peel, regarding possible changes in the School Assessment Act.

From Sandhill John proceeds westward again to Bolton, Orange headquarters for Albion district and seat of an influential lodge, No. 146. This dates back to 1834 when John Lindsay, its master, attended the first meeting of County Grand Lodge. It used to meet somewhat north of Bolton which, about 1836-8, was a seat of disaffection. The parchment warrant taken out in 1845 was in the name of Hugh Abercrombie, who had bought lot 17, concession 5, four years before, and as late as 1866 Doupe gives the meeting-place as lot 11, concession 6.

After the bitterness consequent upon the Rebellion of 1837 died away Bolton acquired lodge No. 455. Upon its rolls, at one time or another, were three grandsons of that James Bolton who had followed Mackenzie and died in exile.

This lodge was at work at least as early as 27th September, 1852, when R. H. Booth was mentioned as master. According to a fragmentary record it seems to have been at the height of its strength in 1854 and 1855. Membership was increasing; by 1856 forty-seven paid fees. In 1854 the lodge was considering building new quarters or leasing those then occupied. In 1855 or 1856 an undated resolution agreed,

"That the members of the Royal Black No. 34 do have the use of the upper part of the new Lodge room by paying half of the rent."

Meanwhile L.O.L. No. 146 seems to have suffered a temporary dormancy. It was not represented at district or Grand Lodge during the decade 1845-55, and only once in 1847, at county lodge. Furthermore, in 1848 Thomas Rutledge, one of its first deputy masters, handed in his certificate at Tullamore which was much less accessible to his home.

A new spirit of activity showed itself in 1855. This may have been due partly to efforts of the Reverend H. B. Osler, Deputy Grand Chaplain in 1858, and worshipful master of No. 146, 1855-6.

Although Nos. 146 and 455 spent the twelfth together in the years immediately following the reorganization

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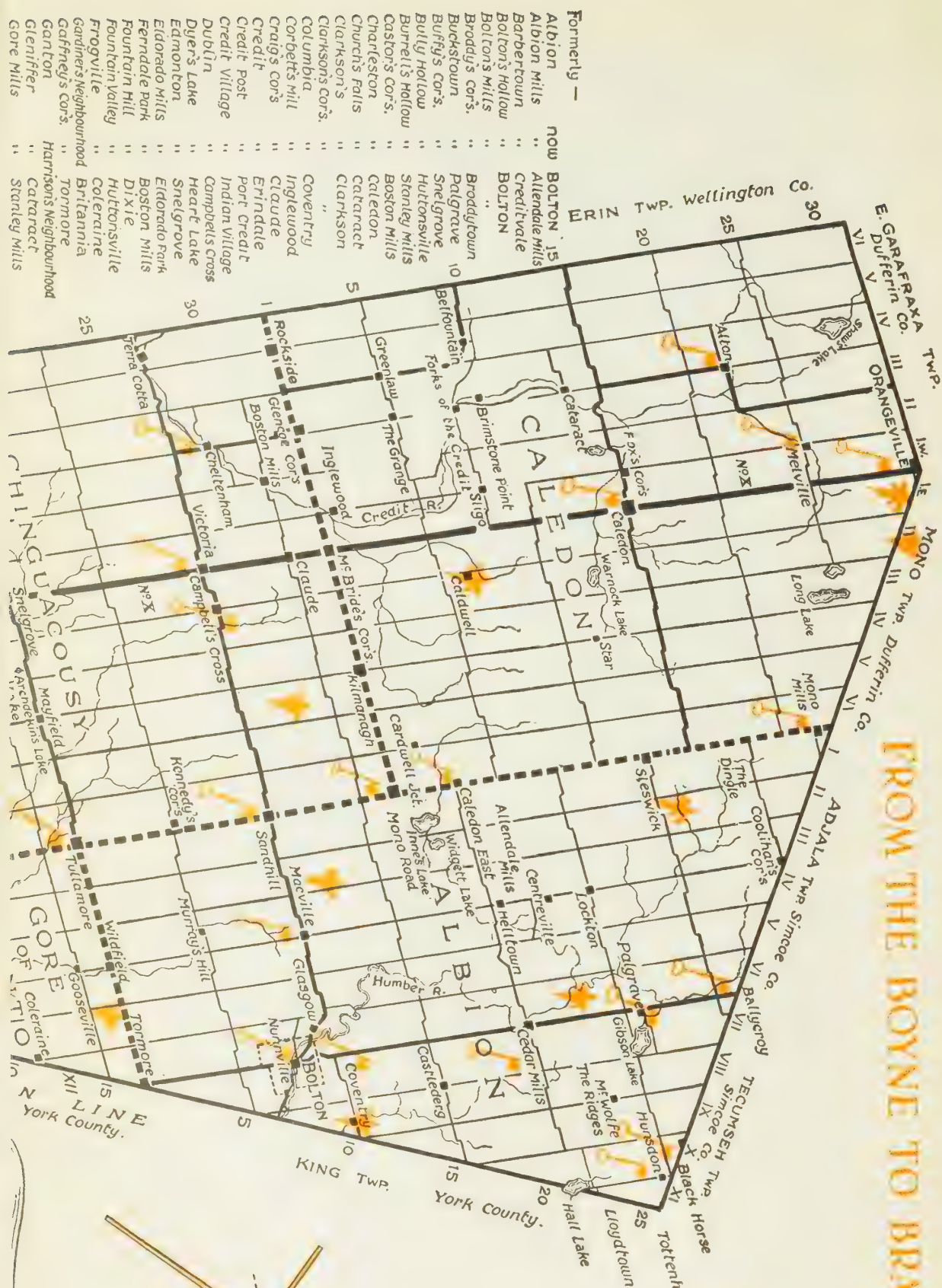
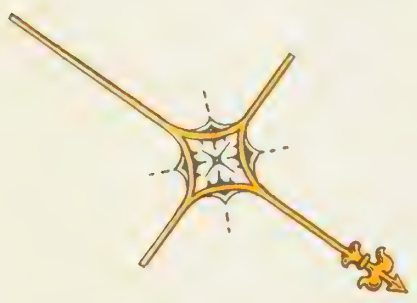
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LEGEND
Orange Hall
Other Orange
Meeting Places



of the former, they do not seem to have regarded each other with true brotherly affection. In 1858, following the twelfth, No. 146 regretted,

"That Br. Wm. J. Whitters of Lodge 455 in presence of this Lodge and the Master and Members of his own did what seems to all violate his obligation as an Orangeman he having by some Means got the annual illegally under which he thought to remain in the Lodge. it is therefore to be hoped that the Master and Members of Lodge 455 will take action upon the Matter at its Next Meeting and have the severest penalty of Orangeism put in force."

Again, although the two lodges went from time to time "in union to a Grand Orge Sorrie in Bolton village", disposal of their respective shares of sums raised at such joint efforts seems to have aroused some antagonism. In April, 1859, No. 146, instead of sending its share to the Protestant Orphans' Home, the ostensible beneficiary, voted it to Brother Andrew Arthurs. In January, 1866, because John Wallace, master of No. 146, had stated in county lodge that receipts from the 1861 soiree had gone in this same direction, W. H. Dalton, master of No. 455, charged Wallace with slander. In retaliation No. 146 described Dalton's charge as the "production of an evil disposed minde" and the maker as "an enemy and a Secret Trator to the vital principles of Orangeism".

Not long before this No. 455 had suffered a heavy loss in Thomas Swinarton, a former member of its building committee and master in 1855, who withdrew in 1859 to organize L.O.L. No. 1020 at Columbia. With him went Robert Elliott, a former deputy master who became secretary. Other inaugural officers of the new lodge included William Scott, deputy master, James McGinnis, treasurer, John Rhodes, tyler, and Forbes Duke, senior committee-man. In the year of its organization No. 1020 received congratulatory visits from lodges at some distance, for the minutes of L.O.L. No. 613, away up at Black Horse, note that members were to "go to Columby Village on 5th November" in this year. Soon after the formation of No. 1020, No. 148 had moved to Macville and Booth had taken over a further contingent of Orangemen from No. 455.

Despite these depletions, 1865 saw No. 455 still diligent in Bolton under J. B. Hall, possibly John Hall who bought lot 8, concession 4, Albion in 1866. W. H. Dalton, master in 1866, was even more zealous. Although, as already noted,

he was attacked by members of No. 146, Dalton, whose story is told in *From Medicine Man to Medical Man*, was of unimpeachable Orange integrity and of fine loyal ancestry. His father was that Thomas Dalton who started the *Patriot*, and who is described by Canniff:

"His efforts were unflinching to crush every measure to disturb the harmony that should always exist between the parent state and her dependencies . . . He was one of the first to advocate a confederation of all the British American Colonies, and his political foresight has been strikingly evinced in the fulfilment of his predictions."

His son was equally public-spirited.

Even W. H. Dalton, however, could not save L.O.L. No. 455 in view of its strong opposition and its declining membership. Some time between 1866 and 1870 it discontinued and its warrant went to Cedar Mills.

In 1867 Dalton's enemy, Wallace, was re-elected master of No. 146, and with George Evans, Henry Harper, and others, was instructed to plan a soirée, the proceeds of which would go towards a lodge hall. Months passed, however, and the hall was not built. At last on 21st January, 1870, a motion was carried

"That the former Building Comity be discharged for neglect of duty and a new one appointed."

A subscription list was sanctioned and some money collected. Later "the thing was given up for the time" but there seems to have been some difficulty in getting subscriptions refunded. In 1871, under the mastership of James Wolfe, a frame building on the Elliott place was reported available "For the Sum of Twenty Dollars and a Lease of the Ground for Ninety Nine Years", but another hitch must have occurred, for on 5th November, 1873, the building committee had secured a bargain in the old Primitive Methodist meeting-house, by a \$20 deposit towards the purchase price of \$276. By May, 1874, the building was repaired and insured and the lodge was making arrangements for incorporation under the recent provincial legislation.

Many county celebrations have been held at Bolton. That of 1864 was notable for its magnificent decorations. Thirty five and drum bands and three brass bands battered away all day, bringing on a heavy thunder-storm only a few miles in circumference with Bolton as the centre. On this

occasion "old man Rowley" was "a noticeable figure" in white shirt, red plush vest, orange pants, and straw hat thickly covered with orange lilies. James C. Roadhouse remarked in his diary on 12th July, 1884, "Orangemen's day. Drunkenness and fighting in Bolton", but John Rutledge finds nothing in the records to substantiate this. The only mishap in connection with parades is recorded in 1860, when the lodge marched to Sandhill. The day was so hot that "two of the band boys had brain fever and only a few of the bunch got off with less than a week's fever".

In 1879 No. 146 absorbed the little unit No. 1020 which had served its purpose at Coventry but was now too weak to continue independently. It started out bravely, but under Robert Elliott, master, 1862, and William McKee, master, 1863-73, the membership flagged, and it was not until the seventies that there was a temporary revival. A committee appointed in 1866 to secure the schoolhouse for regular meetings evidently succeeded, for in 1870 James McAllister had been appointed to "look after the Lamp that belongs to the School-house".

No. 1020's chief trouble was political disunion. Swinarton was under fire in 1861 for having supported J. C. Aikins against John Hillyard Cameron and again in 1870 when he was considering withdrawing from the lodge. By 1876, however, when William Dowzer was worshipful master, Swinarton's store became the regular meeting-place.

It is notable that the lodge was strongest when Swinarton was in favour, and that the final decay seems to have been associated with his transfer to No. 260 of which he appears as first committee-man in 1878. In December of the following year the lodge voted to join with Bolton.

Columbia had a cadet lodge as well; the story of the distressing parade of 1860 refers to its cadet band. It is possible that these juniors were merged in the junior Bolton organization, which seems to have been considered fairly strong financially at least. In 1876 the senior lodge called upon "the young Brittens" for ten dollars towards mortgage interest. In 1877 the junior society was billed with half the taxes and insurance on the hall and in 1878 it was charged with eighty-five dollars and "half of any expences incurred untill their money is paid".

Albion Royal Scarlet Chapter has frequently met in Bolton hall, as has also Albion District Lodge. The building is also headquarters of Edith Cavell L.O.B.A., instituted in 1893.

Bolton has had several interesting members. George Evans, father of Lieutenant-Colonel George Thomas Evans of the Peel militia, was a King's county Irishman and had been a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary before coming to Canada just too late to help in suppressing the 1837 Rebellion. He served faithfully in the militia, however, and was retired in 1884 with the rank of brevet lieutenant colonel.

Another appealing figure was George Verner, born in Enniskillen, Ireland, in 1829. He and his two sons, George and John, were members of Cedar Mills lodge and, when this closed, entered Bolton. A grandson, Leonard R., is also a past master. The Verners are related by marriage to the Robbs, the Stewarts, and other prominent families.

Jacob Shore, cousin of Edmund Shore, who died in 1932 in his ninety-seventh year had long been a member of the Church of England and a strong Orangeman. His daughter married an Evans. Samuel Shore was also an Orangeman. So were the brothers William and Thomas Curliss who came from Ireland and married daughters of Edmund Shore. They kept the Masonic Arms hotel, a favourite rendezvous on 5th November and 12th July and a popular spot on the way to and from funerals. Reverend T. O. Curliss, Church of England clergyman, is a son of Thomas.

John Burns, who died in 1891, was considered the oldest Orangeman in Canada. Born in Lattrbraa, County Fermanagh, on 17th March, 1798, his education counteracted the inauspicious influence that might have been expected to attend his natal day, for his father was a veteran of the Revolutionary War in the United States and of the Napoleonic Wars. John was made a member of No. 995 in 1818, and, after his emigration to Canada and his service during the Mackenzie Rebellion, associated himself with Bolton L.O.L. No. 146. At the time of his death he made it his proud boast that he had celebrated every twelfth without exception.

There is no point in going south to Coleraine, John decides, closing the Bolton minute-books with a sigh of satisfaction, since he has already learned all its history during his visit to Palgrave. He does not remember, if he ever heard, that a new lodge was formed there in 1856 under warrant No. 696 with James A. Orr as master, and that Steed Godard, Thomas Johnson, and John Ramsey were members of the Grand Committee of British America in that year. There is, however, little he could learn about it even in the district. The Doupe directory gives William Hassard as master in 1866 and the meeting-place as lot 16, concession 11, The Gore of Toronto, presumably the northern division. Grand Lodge minutes mention that John Johnston and Thomas Craven were masters between 1871 and 1888. During the next decade the names, Francis Lundy, William May, Andrew McCort, John Johnston and James Johnston, appeared on the list of masters. The lodge maintained fair strength until the Great War, when it disappeared.

Perhaps it is luck, then, that John decides instead to move back across country to Tullamore where Princess Mary L.O.B.A. No. 459, instituted in 1922, flourishes under the shadow of a men's organization which is much older. John is surprised to see that this lodge, celebrating its birthday in 1932, modestly gave its age as only eighty-two years. He remembers it well in the thirties and the county minutes bear him out with their consistent references to its representatives. In the neat graveyard several tombstones display the figure of King William III, some incised and some in bold relief, showing that even in ultimate disaster their Orangeism was a comfort to the sons and daughters of this community.

The continuity of the Orange tradition is indicated by the recurrence of individual and family names. Minute-books are full of references to George Adair, George Hamilton, Robert and Thomas Archdeacon, William, John, and Hugh Morrison. An even more prominent family, perhaps, was the Littles. There were John, Aaron, and William Little, the latter worshipful master in 1882 and 1883 and district master of Albion, 1888-90. There were also Irwin Little, Sr., worshipful master 1872-4, 1879-81, 1884-7, and 1890, and Irwin Little, Jr., worshipful master 1888-9, 1898, and 1901-2.

John cannot but suspect that this is the oldest continuously active lodge in the county. Delving into old minute-books he is thrilled to find his highest anticipations realized. It has met continuously in Tullamore for over a century and has a complete, exact, and legible record from the very beginning—the only case John has discovered in Peel and doubtless one of very few in the province.

On 1st January, 1836, it is noted that “masters and members” met “with Brotherly Love” and unanimously agreed to a set of rules specifying times of meeting, and providing fines for harsh language among brethren, breaches of good order or of sobriety, profanity, improper deportment in lodge, appearance without sashes on the twelfth, and non-payment of full or commuted dues. Rules were subsequently adopted to guard against the unheralded entry of late comers or members and visitors in a state of intoxication. There seems to have been little argument over the rules, for members “spent the Night in Love and Harmony and departed in Peace”.

As the lodge had begun so it continued. The phraseology used for this meeting regarding the constitution appears again as the heading of election nights, which seems to have been unmarred by any sort of acrimony. For years on end the minutes of each meeting concluded with “God Save the Queen”. Of the minutes for 12th July the following is typical:

“The lodge proceeded to form in proper order for the purpose of meeting at Bolton. The appearance of lodge was very good—and everything passed off very well.”

In 1855 a new lodge made its appearance at Tullamore, possibly as a result of the split in Grand Lodge, and the competitive energy thereby engendered. On 2nd January, Robert Corner received warrant No. 604 and in February opened a lodge at Sandhill. It was prosperous from the beginning and ordered a banner in May. Alexander McKee was secretary and later, 1857-61, worshipful master, but the majority of members seem to have been drawn from Tullamore district and on 5th November the meeting-place was transferred to Jonathan Nunn’s hotel at the latter metropolis.

By 1862 the new lodge and the old were ready to

co-operate in building a hall and a public meeting was called "by request of Mr. Thomas Chamberlain and John Orr", the latter representing No. 604 in which he was a moving spirit. It was decided to build a brick hall, a storey and a half high, and some thirty-five feet by twenty. A building committee was to comprise two members of each lodge, but no actual commitments were to be made until the individual lodges had confirmed the decisions.

What happened eventually history does not record. Some sort of building may have been put up but evidently not the fine brick structure originally mooted. John Rutledge has a vague recollection of a hall given by his friend, Captain Abraham Odium, but can find no confirmation of this memory either. At any rate, by 1870 a new building was required and the minutes of No. 604, on 18th January, 1871, give a description which seems to correspond with the actual outcome.

"An orange Hall to be 18 x 36 ft. and to be 16 foot posts scantling frame 5 inch posts. The sills to 12 in. square hewed timber. The timber to be got from Wm. Shaw Junior. Two 36 ft. sills three 18 ft. sills And hewed sleepers on one side Proposed that the Building be erected on the same ground that the . . . one stand on provided that we get a satisfactory title."

The spectre is happy to see that, hall or no hall, the two lodges worked amiably together. No. 604 provided two district masters during its brief span, the one, John Orr who had become militia captain in 1867, and who had held office as knight commander of the Albion Scarlet Chapter from 1867 to 1871; the other, George Strong, master of No. 604 for many years in the seventies and eighties and in 1890 when it finally turned over its warrant.

When No. 604 moved to Brampton, its former members handed in their certificates in No. 61, which about this time took the name of James L. Hughes, provincial Conservative candidate in Peel. George Strong became worshipful master of the new lodge in 1891 and held office again in 1895 and 1897, while James Strong was elected in 1893.

In 1900 came the first valley of humiliation for this ancient lodge. On 2nd February it was moved by George Strong and seconded by William Fleming that the lodge become dormant; other motions provided for the property

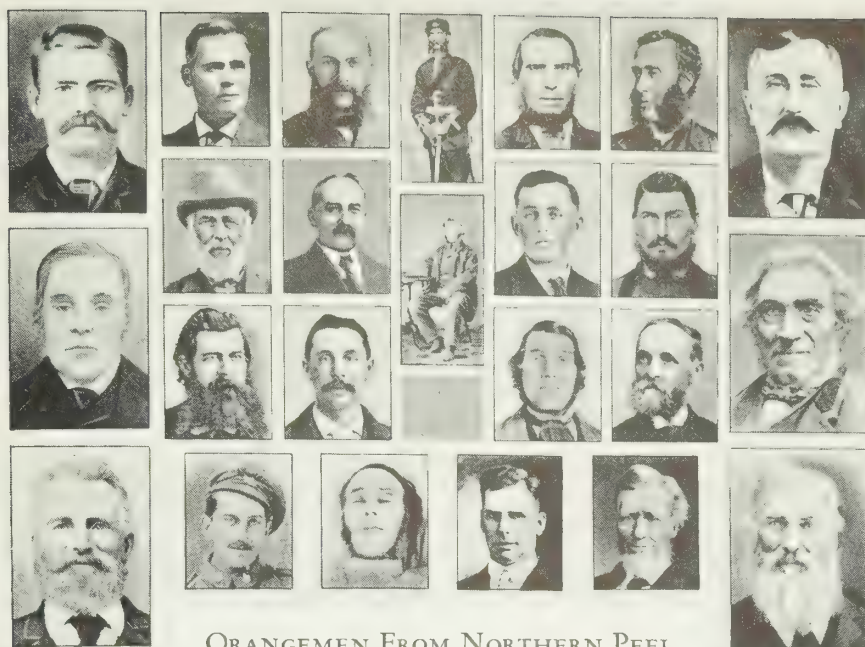
to be sold and divided among members in good standing. A few months later, the minutes of this meeting were fortunately rescinded, the mover being Robert Shaw, Jr., later county master, the first to receive a county master's jewel on his retirement. In the following year, the hall was cleaned, papered and painted, and the lodge started out on a new lease of life. The membership, which in 1899 had fallen to fourteen, rose to the thirties, and the danger was past.

It is pleasant to the visitor to find a lodge in the history of which, if there are few high lights, there are few very heavy shadows. James L. Hughes L.O.L. No. 61 is a striking example of the truth of that old saying, "Happy the man who has no history". Its progress has been quiet but sure and it still prospers with some forty members, little less than its maximum membership.

Further south again John lingers at Grahamsville to recall old days that are unforgotten and unforgettable. There stood the tavern, now the United Church parsonage; there the shop; yonder was where he first paused after that long pull up the stump road from York a century ago. But Grahamsville L.O.L. No. 142, that first offshoot of his own old lodge, has disappeared.

The visitor from the past is naturally disappointed, although even in his lifetime this lodge had belonged more to The Gore of Toronto than to Toronto township. There were Grahams among the membership, of course, including in 1836 two Thomases, one treasurer and the other first committeeman. Thomas Brown Phillips also represented this lodge in 1840 and it is possible that Edward Watkins, the treasurer in 1841, was related to Benjamin Watkins who married Phillips's daughter Mary Ann. Nevertheless, a majority of officers came from The Gore. Joseph, Henry, Robert, William, and John Bell were from Malton, as was Henry Cole, although on the Toronto township side. Others from The Gore were John McDonald, Samuel Shaw, Richard Cook, Andrew Nixon, and John Harper.

Still, these were all good men. Robert Bell, keeper of the Magnet hotel, Grand Committee-man in 1857, was later to serve as clerk and as township treasurer for a number of years, and at the time of Confederation was appointed captain of the Grahamsville Militia Company. Robert's



ORANGEMEN FROM NORTHERN PEEL

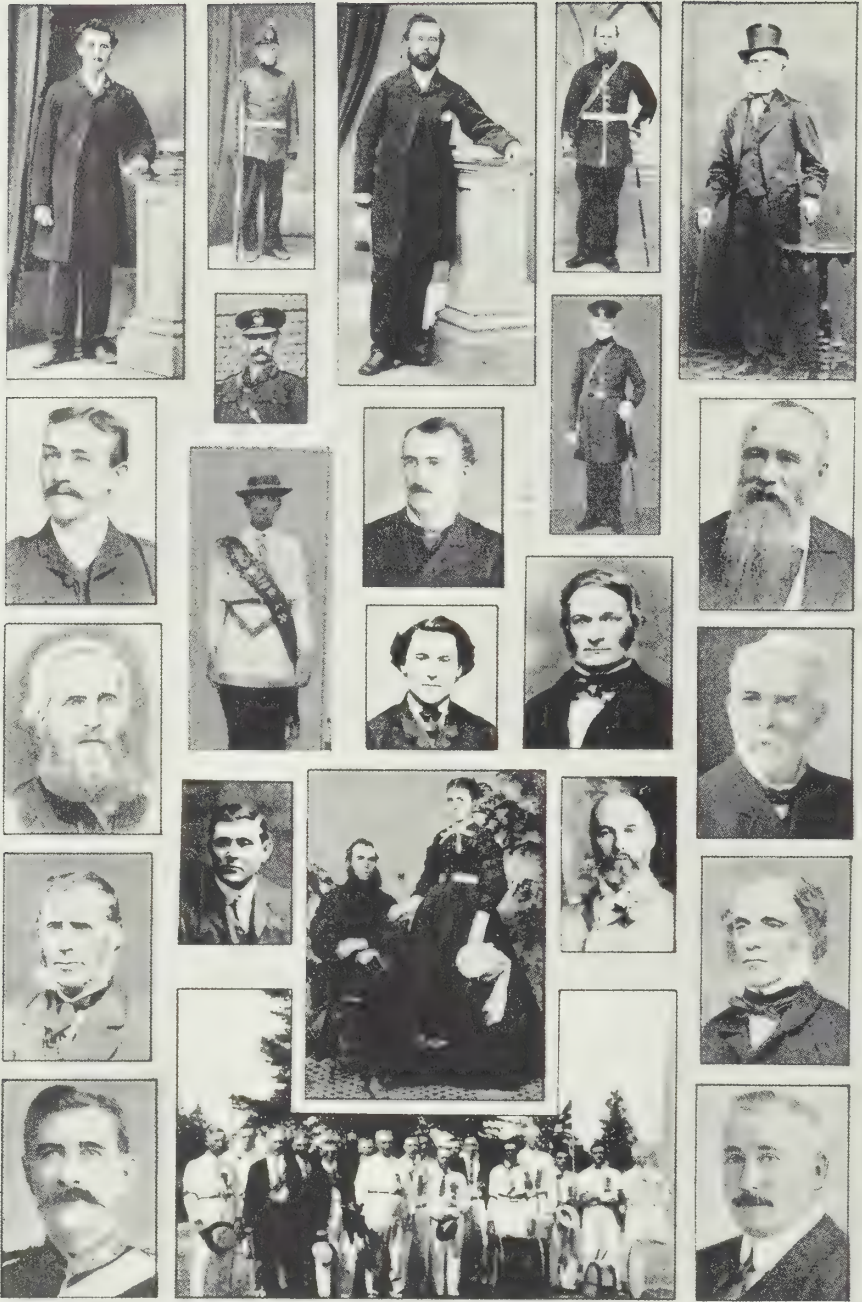
Top row: Wm. James, Sheriff Nathan Henderson, Dr. J. G. Alexander, Captain John Orr, Jas. Patterson, Rev. Alex. McFaul, David Rolley; second row: John McCabe, Jas. Stubbs, Thos. Glassford, Thos. White, Elgin Welwood, Robt. Elliott, John Burns; third row: Rev. Peter Campbell, T. H. Hewitt, John Reynar, Wm. Mitchell; bottom row: John Shore, Bert Coleman, Wm. Logan (picture taken in his coffin), G. Homer Hillyard, John Stubbs Sr., Hy. McCabe.



Courtesy Alfred Maw

TULLAMORE BRASS BAND

Back row: Irwin Hogg, Jos. Maw, Samuel Gray, John Carberry, Alfred Maw; front row: Geo. Dodds, Mark Maw, Wm. Hogg, Wm. Sargent, Jos. Gray, Geo. Gray.



HERE AND THERE WITH THE ORANGEMEN

Reading downwards. First row: Chas. Armstrong, W. J. Fenton, Lambert Bolton, John Tilt, Lt.-Col. Geo. T. Evans; second: Gilbert McDonald, Maj.-Gen. M. S. Mercer, David Walker, Robert Matson II; third: Jos. Graham, Sir Wm. Gage, Isaac Matson, Mr. & Mrs. John Matson; fourth: Capt. John Patterson, Christopher Cheyne, Andrew Graham, Robert Matson I; fifth: John McCulla, Dr. J. T. Mullin, Dr. H. Arnott, Dr. Wm. H. Dalton, Dr. A. F. Reynar; Below: Alton L.O.L. No. 770; John McClellan, ———, D. Knight, Jas. Morrison, W. Scott, A. West, J. Erskine, S. Babcock, L. Yokum, C. Lowe, W. O. Chantler, J. Lowe, B. Cannawin, J. Meek, Geo. West, S. Lowe, A. Johnson.

brother, Henry, was master of No. 142. William, often known as "King Billy" Bell, was county master before he removed to the City of Toronto where he served a term as alderman. John, who had started his Orange career in No. 5 and who was councillor for The Gore of Toronto and quartermaster of the 36th Peel Battalion, served as master of No. 142, frequently if not continuously, from 1866 to 1881 and possibly longer, and was district master in 1880. John Rutledge cannot understand why the Grahamsville lodge handed in its warrant in 1885 and can only conclude that the tendency was to move westward towards Brampton.

So ancient a warrant was snapped up at once by a Toronto lodge of which Thomas Graydon was master in 1888. This lodge bore the name of Lord Rossmore until June, 1906, when an investigation of His Lordship's recent conduct towards Protestantism resulted in the name being changed to Ontario. In 1935, at the fiftieth anniversary celebration, the name was again changed, this time to Colonel Francis W. Brown Memorial Lodge. This serves to commemorate the founder, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis W. Brown of the York Rangers, a veteran of the North West Rebellion. Two sons, Lieutenant-Colonel B. H. and Major F. F. M., also of the York Rangers, are members of this lodge, and a younger brother, Victor M., was the first to be initiated in the reorganized society.

Some of the men who were initiated in Grahamsville lodge during John Rutledge's lifetime were, for a while after its dissolution, members of Mount Horeb lodge, a later transmogrification of the old Hawkins's Corner organization for which John has already looked in vain at Dixie. Mount Horeb seems to have met near Nortonville, under John Nixon, county master in 1873.

Rutledge purses his lips doubtfully as he reads of this move towards the county town, cutting off any hope of support from The Gore of Toronto. To him it seems likely that a lodge at Nortonville would not only strangle itself but would also cut off the life-blood of No. 5, his own old lodge at Orangedale.

True enough, that is what happened. No. 1027 was flourishing in 1891 under James McElwain and in 1895 under

William McElwain, who may or may not have been related to the Alexander McElwain of Ballycroy who was district master of Albion, 1897-9, and county master of Dufferin in 1904. In 1897 the lodge was still at work and there is a reference to it in provincial minutes of 1899. But by 1902 it had disappeared from the roster without remark, and the greater part of its members seem to have found a new lodge home in Brampton.

Here, too, the hollow shell of No. 5 had removed with its warrant about 1900, and the spirit finds that most of his own family and his neighbours' descendants have also rallied to the political and industrial centre of the county. The old traditions of Salem Wesleyan Methodist church at Broddytown have been transferred to Brampton and it is in Brampton that the phantom's grandson William spent his last days. Thus, it is the little town on the Etobicoke flats, that John knew merely as a beaver meadow and a mud hole, to which he turns for his last glimpse of the county he had loved so long.

At Brampton John gathers up all the loose threads of the historic tapestry he has been weaving. He is surprised to find that the errant warrant No. 105 turned up here eventually, after meandering around the county from its original source at Port Credit. He remembers that half a dozen years after its dormancy there, about the time of the Rebellion, it was revived in Chinguacousy in the district around Mount Olivet church and Heart lake. Samuel Lamy, later for many years a member of No. 5, was master in 1840. Thomas Cochrane was master from 1844 to 1848, and Francis Lundy from 1849 to 1851.

The year 1854 seems to have seen another transfer. The representative at Grand Lodge was James Charles of Albion. Thomas Atkinson who represented No. 105 on the Grand Committee in 1857, may be the Yorkshire emigrant who received an Order in Council for land in Albion and may have settled there, although he did not take up the land originally assigned to him.

This is very indefinite, however, and the exact location of the lodge is uncertain until the late fifties or early sixties, when it reappeared at Brampton. David Lawrence, J.P., a

member since the late forties or early fifties, was master in 1862 and 1863. John Nixon enjoyed a similar honour for a time before he transferred to Mount Horeb. In 1881 the warrant was returned dormant.

No. 105 is not the only lodge which paid a transient visit to Brampton. In 1858, W. H. Meredith received warrant No. 946. Meredith's initials are reversed in Grand Lodge records of 1860, and he seems to be that H. W. Meredith who made his appearance in Brampton just in time to be listed in the directory of 1857-8. Probably this is the H. W. Meredith, also a shoe-maker, who was listed in the Toronto directories of the early fifties, but not in 1857. It has not yet proven possible to identify him positively with H. W. Meredith, district master of Toronto in 1854. At any rate, the lodge he started in Brampton did not long continue. S. Grafton was master in 1864 and William Golding in 1866 when Doupe listed it as meeting in a hall of its own, possibly shared with No. 157. Golding seems to have retained his position until 1870 when the warrant was returned to the secretary to be reissued six years later in East Wellington.

It is in Brampton, too, that the visitor learns the story of No. 1174, the warrant of which David Lawrence, J.P., took out in 1864. The lodge met at Mount Pleasant under his leadership until 1881.

To John's surprise, one of the strongest lodges of his time, and indeed the only one which he really associated with Brampton, L.O.L. No. 157, has now disappeared from the county town. The records suggest that it was long extremely active. It obtained a small property in 1856, presumably with a view to building a hall. The hall seems to have been built, too, and in 1873, L.O.L. No. 157 was meeting therein on the first Friday of every month. The ground floor must have been rented, however, for the Royal Black Knights, who were listed in the Brampton *Progress* as meeting in the Orange hall, described it as "over Wilkinson's Store".

John Coyne was master of this lodge when he was elected Grand Secretary of Ontario West in 1863 and retained his connection throughout his brilliant Orange and political career. Reverend Robert Arnold, Grand Chaplain, was a member in 1865. George Cheyne was master in 1871; he was also county master for several years. W. A. McCulla,

later M.P., was master in 1872.

There seems no reason why this prosperous lodge should suddenly have broken down, and the probable explanation is that it united with No. 10 from Derry West, retaining the earlier warrant. Thus, when the old lodge hall came to be torn down, people naturally remembered it as belonging to L.O.L. No. 10, and the illustrious history of the lodge founded by Captain John Wiggins and long sustained by John Coyne, was forgotten. This is borne out by the fact that the last known appearance of No. 10 at Derry West was in 1881, the same year in which No. 157 is last definitely recorded in Brampton. By 1885, warrant No. 157 had been reissued to a Toronto lodge and by the same year No. 10 was flourishing in Brampton under the leadership of Robert Peel Campbell, county master 1882-87. The continuity of the old No. 157 was preserved, and McCulla was one of the incorporating members of this lodge in 1892.

Meanwhile, a quarrel with John Hobson had driven Henry Burnett from No. 10 and he had organized a lodge of his own. The decision of No. 604, Tullamore, to unite with No. 61 fortunately provided him with a convenient warrant. James R. Fallis, M.P.P., was first master. Members included Senator Richard Blain and T. J. Blain; also W. S. Morphy, for twenty-five years solicitor for Toronto township and for many years solicitor for Albion and Caledon townships and for Peel county council, Crown Attorney for Peel, chairman of the Brampton public school board, and vice-president of the Liberal-Conservative Association. Reverend Canon William Walsh was also a member during his long service as Deputy Grand Chaplain, 1890-1901, in the course of which he attended the Imperial Grand Orange Council.

While Walsh was Grand Chaplain, 1902-3, an union was effected with No. 5. The latter, in March, 1900, according to Colonel R. V. Conover, had found itself unable longer to maintain its membership in its old home. Thomas Graham of Derry West had been master for seventeen or eighteen years and Joseph Armstrong, who succeeded him in 1899, gave his address as Brampton. Thus it was natural for the lodge to follow its officers westward and settle in the county town. In the union the older warrant was naturally retained.

The new No. 5 eventually took its name from Henry Burnett, so that No. 604 and its history are thus permanently commemorated. One of the present members of No. 5 is A. Grenville ("Dutch") Davis, K.C., Crown Attorney for Peel. His great-grandfather Golden settled on the Centre road over a hundred years ago, and several Goldens, including Thomas Seymour and William, were members of old No. 5 in the fifties.

John is glad to recognize in Burnett a son of his good friend who had come to Brampton from County Tyrone in 1840. He is interested to see that the infant, said to have been kidnapped by Indians when the poor, Irish immigrants first arrived, carried on the Orange tradition of the family, serving as county master from 1888 to 1893, in addition to performing many services in his local lodge.

Walsh was not only an Orangeman, he was also an ardent member of the Black Knights. He was two years worshipful preceptor of Brampton Royal Black Preceptory No. 111, when it first moved from Streetsville in 1915, and it now bears his name. It is still flourishing. In 1926 one of its members, John Clarke, was said to be the oldest living Black Knight in Canada with sixty-eight years' service in his local unit. In August, 1932, fifteen thousand Black Knights of Ontario visited the county town to celebrate the 243rd anniversary of the relief of Londonderry.

In addition to its two surviving Orange lodges, No. 5 and No. 10, and this Preceptory of Black Knights, Brampton has a ladies' lodge, Queen Alexandra L.O.B.A. No. 470, which, with its membership of 150, is now one of the strongest ladies' branches in the province. Mrs. Margaret Fallis Broddy was the first worshipful mistress. This lodge, at Orangeville in 1926, was for a second time winner of the first prize for best appearance and turn-out.

A lodge of Orange Young Britons, No. 42, met at Orangedale with No. 5 in the old days and its warrant was renewed in Peel in 1879 but it has now given place to Brampton No. 382. This unit won first prize at Orangeville in 1926 for best appearance and best fife and drum music.

Most pleasing of all John's discoveries is the fine hall in which the Orange lodges of Brampton are now housed. For

this purpose, chiefly through the agency of the ambitious No. 5 lodge, the old concert hall has been completely remodelled with good lighting and suitable furniture. Here soon after the opening, was hung an old chart of L.O.L. No. 5, which has belonged to three generations of the Armstrong family. It was purchased about 1850 by John Armstrong, who followed his father "Cheery" as master. Rutledge surveys this chart, reflecting proudly that in 1931 Peel's county lodge had been for eight consecutive years on the honour roll of the Grand Lodge of Ontario West, and that in 1930 it was one of nine lodges on the Dominion honour roll where it had been for three years in succession. With this reassurance he feels that he can safely leave the maintenance of Orange principles to his descendants, the descendants of his old friends and brethren throughout the county, and the strangers within their gates, who are no longer strangers once they have entered the portals of an Orange lodge.

The ghost walk is over and John returns to sleep with his family in the little Bethany graveyard. Beside him lie George, whom he had reared so carefully for the Orange Order, and George's son, William, who alone of the family had remained at home to carry on the Rutledge tradition in the county. Like John, his son and grandson had lived kindly, helpful, useful lives and made memorable places for themselves in the history of the county. The efforts of John and Alice Rutledge had not been in vain. They had lived their lives, they had helped to turn "a certain quantity of waste lands" in Upper Canada into a prosperous and civilized community where John and his friends had established the Orange Order. Then they passed on, having lived for the good that they could do.

" 'Let us now praise famous men'—
Men of little showing—
For their work continueth,
And their work continueth,
Broad and deep continueth
Greater than their knowing!"

—POSTSCRIPT—

One of the three living signatories of the petition which in 1890 secured Orange incorporation is Edward Floody, Past Grand Director of Ceremonies of British America, and nephew of "Two-tune Floody" who led Darlington Loyalists into Toronto in 1837 to the strains of *Boyne Water* and *Protestant Boys*, "the only tunes worth playing" as he assured a deprecating mayor.

Immediately after his work on Orange incorporation, Floody repaired to Peel to act as Conservative organizer for James L. Hughes during the election of 1890. He still feels that they should have won that election, "if someone had not come out the night before the voting and fixed the quarrymen on the Credit".

Among good friends made on this occasion, Floody recalls A. F. Campbell, restless and energetic; Henry Burnett, Hughes's intimate, and campaign secretary; Blain; Morphy; and many others. He speaks with affectionate admiration of Wallace's uncompromising spirit, and chuckles to recollect how the author, on his way to represent the University of Toronto, where he was a student, in an inter-college debate against McGill University, was roused in the lower berth of a crowded train by the startling intrusion of the Grand Master of British America. Unexpectedly compelled to make the trip, Wallace had examined the conductor's list and chosen the author as his involuntary bed-mate.

Floody has many such stories of Wallace and other Orangemen from Peel and its vicinity—news of the Jesuit Estates Bill bursting like a bomb upon the quiet Grand Lodge meeting at Winnipeg in '88; the stormy session in Goderich the following year when five or six Dominion members were up, and speakers were so numerous and voluble that the debate lasted until five a.m.; the Cardwell by-election of 1895, when Robert Birmingham, party organizer, tackled the impossible job of foisting a staunch Conservative upon that strongly Orange riding, and when Floody was one of the Stubbs campaigners on a shoe-string and a war-cry.

"Peel is a great place," he tells the author, "as full of Orangemen as an egg is full of meat. Wherever I went, it was Orange grips, Orange passwords, and then the freedom of the county. That's why this book has such a fine flavour—it is the essence of Orange Peel."



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ABBREVIATIONS

A.F. & A.M.—	Ancient, Free & Accepted Masons	L.O.B.A. —	Ladies' Orange Benevo-
ag.	— agricultural		— lent Association
Alta.	— Alberta	L.O.L. —	Loyal Orange Lodge
a.m.	— ante meridiem	Lt. —	Lieutenant
A.M.	— Master of Arts	L.T.B. —	Loyal True Blues
Ass'n.	— Association	Lt.-Col. —	Lieutenant-Colonel
B.A.	— Bachelor of Arts, British America	Ltd. —	Limited
Bart.	— Baronet	M.A. —	Master of Arts
B.C.	— British Columbia	Maj. —	Major
Brig.-Gen.	— Brigadier-General	Man. —	Manitoba
Br(o)(s)	— Brother (s)	M.D. —	Doctor of Medicine
c.	— circa (about)	Md. —	Maryland
Capt.	— Captain	M.L.A. —	Member, Legislative Assembly
C.G.S.	— County Grand Secretary	Mngr. —	Monsignor
clk.	— clerk	M.P. —	Member of Parliament
C.M.G.	— Companion, Order St. Michael and St. George	M.P.P. —	Member, Provincial Parliament
Co., co.	— Company, County	M.W. —	Most Worshipful
Col.	— Colonel	N.B. —	New Brunswick
Com.	— Committee	Nfld. —	Newfoundland
d.	— pence	No(s).	— number(s)
D., Dep.	— Deputy	Nov.	— November
D.C.L.	— Doctor of Civil Law	N.S.W.	— New South Wales
D.D.	— Doctor of Divinity	O.B.E.	— Officer, Order of British Empire
Dec.	— December	Ont.	— Ontario
D.G.M.	— Deputy Grand Master	O.S.	— old style
D.G.M.E.	— Deputy Grand Master, England	O.S.A.	— Member, Ontario Society of Artists
D.G.M.I.	— Deputy Grand Master, Ireland	O.Y.B.	— Orange Young Britons
Dr.	— Doctor	p.	— pages
D.S.O.	— Companion, Distinguished Service Order	Pa.	— Pennsylvania
ed.	— edited	P.C.	— Privy Councillor
employt.	— employment	P.E.I.	— Prince Edward Island
E.N. & E.	— East, north and east	p.m.	— post meridiem
Eng.	— England	Prov.	— Provincial
Esq(r).	— Esquire	Q.C.	— Queen's Counsel
etc.	— et cetera	Que.	— Quebec
f.	— facing page	R.B.P.	— Royal Black Preceptory
F.R.G.S.	— Fellow, Royal Geographical Society	R.C.A.	— Member, Royal Canadian Academy
F.R.S.	— Fellow, Royal Society	rec'd	— received
F.R.S.A.	— Fellow, Royal Society of Arts	Regt.	— Regiment
F.S.A.	— Fellow, Society of Antiquaries	Rev (d).	— Reverend
ft.	— feet	s.	— shilling(s)
G.M.	— Grand Master	Sask.	— Saskatchewan
H.M.	— His (Her) Majesty	Scot.	— Scotland
Hon.	— Honourable	S.D.S.	— South of Dundas street
H.R.H.	— His Royal Highness	Soc.	— Society
I.G.S.	— Imperial Grand Secretary	Sr.	— Senior
in.	— inches	St., st.	— Saint, street
I.P.	— Immediate Past	twp.	— township
Ire.	— Ireland	U.E.(L).	— United Empire (Loyalist)
J.P.	— Justice of the Peace	U.S.A.	— United States of America
Jr.	— Junior	Va.	— Virginia
K.C.	— King's Counsel	V.D.	— Colonial Auxiliary Forces Officers' Decoration
K.C.B.	— Knight Commander of the Bath	Ven.	— Venerable
K.C.M.G.	— Knight Commander, Order St. Michael and St. George	vols.	— volumes
K.G.	— Knight, Order of the Garter	V.S.	— Veterinary Surgeon
K.P.	— Knight, Order of St. Patrick	W.M.	— Worshipful Master (Mistress)
La.	— Louisiana	W.P.M.	— Worshipful Past Master (Mistress)
LL.B.	— Bachelor of Laws	Y.M.C.A.	— Young Men's Christian Association
LL.D.	— Doctor of Laws	yr (s).	— year (s)
		[]	— interpolations in quotations

INDEX

Orange organizations are indexed in bulk under the following headings: Imperial Grand Orange Council, Grand Lodge of British America, Grand Lodge of Montreal, Grand Lodges (outside British America), Provincial Grand Lodges (of British America), County lodges, & District lodges. Subordinate Grand Lodges of the British Isles are listed individually. Under numbered L.O.L.'s, L.O.B.A.'s, L.T.B.'s, O.Y.B.'s, & R. B. P.'s, are listed purely local references. Under Primary lodges are listed general references dealing particularly with local effort. Under Orange Order are listed references to undertakings or interests shared by grand and local units. Certain important interests and undertakings may be listed independently: e.g., Parades, Military activities, etc.

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